

698.4

LETTER
TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
ENGLAND,

Occasion'd by the

LETTER
TO THE
DISSENTERS.

----- *En quo Discordia Civis
Pendurit miseros!* Virg. Eccl.

LONDON.

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TO THE
READER.

WHenever, in the following Sheets,
I cite any Passage out of the Post-
Boy or Examiner, I cite them,
not as the Thoughts or Opinion of those two
Writers, but, as all Parties agree they are,
as the Words of their Masters.

If you think that the Post-Boy and
Examiner are not of sufficient Authority
to be produc'd in Evidence against the Pre-
sent Ministry; I desire you will only con-
sider, whether those two Authors ought not
to be Now of as good Authority to prove
Matters of Fact past, as they were THEN
to prove what was then a doing.

You

To the READER.

You may perhaps call the following Letter a Scandalous Piece : I can't help that. But I would fain know, how the Letter can be Scandalous from the Matters of Fact therein cited ; and the Persons committing those Facts, not be Scandalous.

If I have asserted any thing for Fact which is not so ; I shall be glad to have it disprov'd ; and shall thank the Person that doth so ; since 'twas never my Intention to support a good Cause by Falshood and Deceit ; nor my Ambition, to be like those whom the Letter condemns.

A

LETTER

TO THE

People of ENGLAND.

My Countrymen,



HIS Letter to you is occasion'd by that to the Dissenters ; wherein they are endeavour'd sometimes by Sophistry, sometimes by Flattery, sometimes by Reproaches, and sometimes by Threats, to be brought over from the *Country-Party* to the *Court-Party* ; which Distinction the Letter itself, p. 10, 11. hath made to my hands, and which ought to be the ONLY Distinction in the *present Crisis*. This Letter to the Dissenters immediately brought to my Mind King James's Courtship of the Dissenters : that made me look back to the Beginning of his

B

Reign ;

Reign ; and then naturally led me to take a View of the precedent one : But I had no sooner began to compare the Present State of the Nation, and the Politicks the *Now Court-Party* have pur-su'd, with the State of the Nation during those two Reigns, and the Politicks of the *Then Court-Party*, than my Soul was struck with Horror at the dismal Prospect that open'd itself to my View : My Country Bleeding, and her Patriots in Chains paying their last Duties, and mingling their own Life-Blood with her last Vital-Drops ; our Pure and Undefiled Religion ravish'd by Idolaters ; our Venerable and Ancient Laws and Liberties preserv'd for us their Posterity by our Wise, our Couragious, our Tender Affectionate Ancestors ; who after the frequent Expence of immense Treasures, and wading through Oceans of Blood, had committed this sacred *Depositum* to our Care, with the dying Request, *Not to let it perish in our Hands, but to have as tender a Regard for our Posterity, as they had for us their Posterity* ; These Laws and Liberties of ours, I say, rooted up from off the Face of the Earth ; and every thing flung back into the original Chaos, that the Name of *Liberty*, and the *Protestant Religion*, might be no more remember'd within this Isle.

The Severities threaten'd to the Dissenters, in the Letter to them, is no way surprizing to me ; 'tis but what I expected from the natural Disposition of the *present Court-Party*, which broke forth at and after *Sacheverell's Tryal*, upon their coming into Play. This Apprehension was increased upon reading

leading in the Queen's first Speech afterwards, Nov. 27. 1710.) That the *Toleration* was no longer call'd by the Name of *Toleration*, but by the Naine of *the Indulgence by Law allowed to Irupulous Consciences*; and upon hearing the Pulpits ring with Severities against the Dissenters; and was confirm'd upon seeing that Criminal *Sabeverel* promoted to one of the best Livings in London, who was impeach'd by the Commons of Great-Britain for suggesting and maintaining, *That the Toleration granted by Law, was Unreasonable, and the Allowance of it Unwarrantable*; and condemn'd by the Lords for it.

But tho the Letter to the Dissenters be not so much intended to convince their *Reason*, as to work upon their *Fear*, which is the Passion most deeply rooted in our Nature, as flowing immediately from that Principle of Self-Preservation which is planted in every Man's Nature; yet I flatter myself, that *that Great-Man* by whose Directions, or rather by whom it was writ, will fail of his purpos'd Design; because as on the one hand the Sophistry of the Letter is too palpable to impose on the Judgment of the Dissenters; so on the other hand the Threats therein contain'd will only serve to unite the Dissenters so much the more firmly to the *Country-Party*, since Both are to be involv'd in *One Common Ruin*; for if the Dissenters are fall'n upon the first, 'tis, * First, to satisfy * P. 14. the Dissenters, that the Party they are joined with, cannot be able to answer their Ex-

pectations ; and then to satisfy the Party that the Interest of the Dissenters is not able to

* P. 29. support them : And if * the Executive Power correct a seditious Party, they must quickly do, 'tis only to lend the Dissenters a Lash to let them know their Duty, and make them taste what they might justly expect a greater share of.

The Church cannot but know, That DIVIDE AND RULE is the standing Maxim of all those Politicians, who stick not at sacrificing Justice, Honour, Conscience, and Religion, to obtain their End ; nay, their Country too, when it stands in their Way.

The Church cannot but know, That such wicked Politicians never fail to strike in with the prevailing Prejudices and Passions of the Multitude, as being the two Reins by which they (the Multitude) are manag'd as their Riders please : And our Achitophels, our wicked Politicians always cloath their Hellish Designs with the *Church*, the *Church* ; well knowing that there is nothing transports Mankind with more Rage, Fury, and Madness against one another, than the Perswasion they are contending for the Cause of God and Religion ; and that when they are thus enrag'd, there is nothing they will grudge, nothing they will refuse to the imagin'd Protectors of their Cause, so that it may but be employ'd to crush their Adversaries ; and that they will then be so blind, as not to see ; or if they see, not to mind ; or if they mind, to justify the most

most FOOLISH, KNAVISH, and VILLANOUS
 Acts : and their Quacks take care to prevent their
 espying the approaching Ruin of their Country,
 by plying them with strong Cordials to keep up
 their Frenzy : so that if the Multitude are so
 happy as to see their approaching Ruin, e're it be
 quite past Remedy, --- 'Tis *but* all : Then, then
 what egregious Fools and Blockheads do they call
 themselves, thus to have been deluded by the
 Word CHURCH ! With what Rage and Fury
 are they transported against their Deceivers : What
 Resolutions do they make against the like Folly
 for the future : Yet, Good God ! No sooner are
 they saved from ONE Ruin, but they suffer them-
 selves *again* to be led by the Nose by any IMPU-
 DENT RASCAL that will but cry, the *Church*,
 the *Church* : And tho' they were made sensible,
 whether they would or *no*, that the High-Church
 Clergy were the Tools employ'd to blind-fold
 them, that they might not see what Tricks were
 to be play'd with them ; yet, my God ! such un-
 thinking Creatures are the People of *England*,
 they will let the same *Clergy* blind-fold them
 again, tho' they are put in mind how lately that
 very *Clergy* had been Instrumental in beguiling
 them to the Brink of their Ruin : Such an Un-
 grateful Nation are they, that they revile their
 very Deliverers if they warn them of the Old
 Danger they are running into afresh ; Such meer
 Spaniels are they degenerated to, as to fawn on
 those very Persons that make them fetch and car-
 ry, and crouch to them the more, the more

Tyrannically they are treated by them. 'Tis but for any one to put on a Gown, and he is sure to make them into as many Asses as he pleases: 'Tis but for these Gowns-Men to wind the *Church*, the *Church*, and to single out any Persons they dislike because no favourers of the selfish Designs, and to mark him *with being against the Church*, and immediately the whole Pack open, and seldom leave off till they have hunted them down; tho thereby they endanger their own Wind: Such besotted, such infatuated Travellers are the People of this Island, that tho they have been so often led into Bogs and Quagmires by this *Will-with-a-wisp* the *Church*; yet they are no sooner pull'd out and set in the right Way, but, if they see it again, they will still fancy it a Lanthorn, and so run a Woolgathering after it, spite of all kind Admonitions, spite of all Assurances that what they imagine to be a Lanthorn is nothing else but that very individual *Will-with-a-wisp* that just now misled them; and that it never appears but among Bogs and Quagmires.—So often deluded, and so likely still to be deluded; and by the very same worn-out Tricks.—Melancholy Thought!

----- Our Rescuers from Popery and Slavery revil'd, and injur'd; and by those Deliver'd. ----- Ungrateful People! ----- A Nation that is no longer sensible of their Deliverances from Popery and Slavery, and of the Blessings of the *Protestant Religion*, of *Liberty*, and *Property*, is half enslav'd. ----- A Nation that courts its own Ruin after so many Miraculous Deliverances, is scarce worthy

worthy of a *Cato*. — But, O People Foolish and Unwise ! tho you deserve not that the least Pity should be shewn unto you ; yet for the sake *not* of you, but of our deceased brave Ancestors, by whose Vigilance, Care, Expence and BLOOD, our Liberties were preserv'd ; and preserv'd, have descend'd to us their Posterity ; For their sakes, & yours, I'll sacrifice my *All*, my Estate, my Liberty, my Life for *My Country*. From this Moment they are devoted to *My Country* : They're not now mine, but *My Country's* : If *My Country* falls, I will be innocent : If *My Country* falls, she shall see herself reveng'd first, for *Maus hæc Inimica Tyrannis* : If *My Country* falls, I will be crush'd in her Ruins.

My Country-men ; Can you blame my Warmth against you for being so frequently and so easily deluded ; and by the same Stale Device, The Church ? Can you blame my Zeal for my Country ? Who sees his Country on the Brink of Ruin, and doth not curse those that decoy'd her hither ? Who thinks on her God-like Patriots, and doth not envy every Deed ? Who sees her sinking, and would not die to save her ?

My Country-men ; Since I am perswaded my Country was never nearer the Verge of her Fate than AT PRESENT, I can't be easy ; I can't be content ; I cannot rest. My Country is dearer to me than every thing in this World, my Conscience excepted. *My Country* ! Thou pleasing Idea ! Thou dearest Object of my Love ! For thee, I'd undergo Hunger, Thirst, Watchings,

Toils, Imprisonment ; *For thee*, I'd see my Wife, my Babes, my Family, my Name destroy'd ; *For thee*, I'd suffer the Whip, the Rack ; *For thee*, what would I not do ? what would I not endure ? ----- Next to dying for Religion, what Act more *Meritorious* can Man perform, than dying for his Country ? What Offering more fit for Heaven, than a Patriot bleeding for his Country

My Country-men ; Awake, Awake ; 'tis not time to Sleep : Your Liberties, your Liberties are in Danger ! Awake, Awake ; your Religion your Religion is in Danger ! Awake, Awake your Country, your Country is in Danger ! Rouse Rouse ; shew your selves Men : Consider e're it be too late : There yet is Hope : Lay hold on the *Present and Last Opportunity* : Clasp it e're it slip for ever from you.

My Dear Country-men ; Consider only these three things following, and I am satisfy'd you will be awaken'd to a thorough Sense of the dreadful Misery that hangs hov'ring o'er our Heads.

I. That the *Present Ministry* hath made the same Use of the *Church* and pretended *Mismanagements at home and abroad*, that K. Char. II. did of the Church and State.

II. That our Fury against the Dissenters, and Late Ministry, hath made us come into and approve of as FOOLISH, KNAVISH, and VILLANOUS Acts, as any in King Charles II's Reign ; and believe as great Absurdities as any under that Prince : Nay, hath blinded us from seeing the *Present*

esent Ministry commit the VERY SAME
imes that they unjustly got the Late Ministry
nsur'd for ; and CRIMES that the Late
ministry were never pretendedly guilty of, nor
harg'd with.

III. That this Fury hath brought the Nation
to the Brink of Ruin Now, as it did THEN.

I. That the Present Ministry hath made the
ame Use of the Church and pretended Misma-
nagements at home and abroad, that K. Char. II.
did of the Church and State.

Before the Civil Wars, the Establish'd Church
had been very hard upon the Dissenters ; which
Treatment the Dissenters return'd when it was in
their Power. The Church and State being re-
stor'd with King Charles II. who was to introduce
Popery and *Slavery* ; he, knowing that the Cler-
gy, being big with Revenge, would be for giv-
ing him any Powet to crush the Dissenters, pre-
tended a mighty Zeal for the Hierarchy, anima-
ting the Bishops against all the Sects of Dis-
senters ; and to prevent the Conformity of any of
them, he, having at the beginning of his Reign
a Parliament after his own Heart, got such Oaths,
Tests, and Declarations made, as he knew none
of them could swallow : And as these Oaths,
Tests, and Declarations, made the Dissenters lay
aside their private Dissentions, and unite for their
common Safety ; so he made use of this their
Union as a Handle every now and then to ter-
rify the Church with the Apprehensions of Pres-
bytery.

bytery. Besides ; finding that all those that had smarted under the Government of that Faction that had usurp'd the Title of *Commonwealth*, tho they maintain'd themselves by Military Force, abhor'd the very Name of *Commonwealth* ever after, and dreaded nothing more than the Thoughts of relapsing into the past Confusion. King *Charles* hereupon artfully insinuated, by his Tools, That there could be no way to preserve the *Hierarchy* on the one hand, and *Monarchy* on the other, but by increasing the Prerogative. Hereupon the Dissenters and those Churchmen that oppos'd the Encrease of the Prerogative were branded with being *Commonwealths-Men* ; and for bringing us back to the late Confusion : The Pulpits sounded with nothing but *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* to all the King's Commands, upon pain of Damnation ; and that we were to use no other Weapons than Prayers and Tears ; and that *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy* were *Jure Divino* : And under pretence of keeping the Dissenters under the Hatches, great Numbers of Protestants were disarm'd ; turn'd out of their Posts in Corporations ; excluded from all Offices of Honour or Profit : The Dissenters were prohibited meeting together for Divine Worship, crowded and starved in Gaols ; some forced to fly into Foreign Countries ; and, in one word, there was nothing so Arbitrary or Illegal, but was encouraged and applauded by the Church, because us'd against the Whigs and Dissenters. To such a Height of Frenzy had King *Charles II.* wrought the Nation up to by those

two Magick Charms, the CHURCH and STATE.

If we now turn our Thoughts upon our selves, if we do but calmly consider these four last Years, we shall be satisfy'd there have not been wanting, in these our Days, such *Arch-Magicians*, as by those two Spells, the Church and pretended *Mismanagements at home and abroad*, so to bewitch our Body Politick, that we shall not, perhaps, be deliver'd from this Inchantment, till our very Being dissolves with the Charm.

Let us consider then, what hath been acting for these four Years last past on the Stage of this Nation.

My Country-men; You cannot but very well remember what a Handle the *Present Court-Party* who were then out of Play, made of *Sacheverel* Impeachment, to terrify the Nation with the Apprehensions of the Church's immediate Ruin; what Mobs were rais'd every day of his Tryal to conduct him to and from *Westminster-Hall*; what Affronts and Abuses were offer'd to Persons of the first Quality, to the Bishops, and to the Members of both Houses; what Execrations were spud out on all those that would not declare for High-Church and the Doctor; what numberless Blows were laid on all those in the Streets that would not pull off their Hat to the Doctor; how industriously it was every where spread, that Dr. *Sacheverel* was impeach'd by the Commons, for nothing else but maintaining

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Doctrine of the Church of *England*: and to enflame the Mob the more, his Collections for *Non-Resistance* were every where spread with the utmost Industry; which had such a fatal Effect, that the Rabble rose up in Arms, threatening to demolish the Houses of several Lords and Commoners; and had form'd a Design on the Bank tself; nay, several Meeting-Houses were actually burnt. After his Tryal, what Bonfires and Illuminations, what Rejoicing by the *Present Court-party* were there not? How indefatigably the Danger of the Church was it not spread? And to keep up the Flame, Addresses were handed round the Nation stuft full of Contradictions, of *Passive-obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, and the *Liberties* of the People; of *Unalienable Hereditary-Right*, and the *House of Hanover*: And *Sacheverel*, under pretence of taking Possession of a Living in *ales*, was sent a Progress through several Countries, to blow the Coals, and enflame the Madness of the People. And when the Dissolution of the Parliament was warinly talk'd of, and Interest was making for a new one, how was the King a good Church-man made use of as the ~~only~~ Recommendation to the Electors; how were the *Whigs* call'd *Fanaticks*, *Schismaticks*, *publicans*; how were they revil'd with being *inst Monarchy*, *Episcopacy*, and *Hereditary-right*; how indefatigably did the *Present Court-party* charge the Late Ministry with *delighting in War*; that they carry'd it on only for their own Selves; that we might have had a good Peace several

veral Years ago, if it had not been for them ; that there had been such incredible Mismanagement of the Publick Mony, as, if reimburs'd, would carry on the War for several Years together, without raising any more Taxes ; that if they were chosen, they would call the Late Ministry to an Account. And to keep up this Delusion, the *Examiner* comes out Weekly. At last, the Parliament is dissolv'd ; and by the Help of all these intoxicating Medicines, and the most riotous Behaviour in the *Present Court-Party*, a new One is chosen, agreeable to their Wilhes.

As the *Present Ministry* had deluded the Nation out of Parliament by the *Church* and *Mismanagements at home and abroad* ; so was the Delusion to be carry'd on in Parliament by the same Devices.

Accordingly, in the first Sessions of this Parliament, the House of Commons came to this Vote, " That it appears to this House, that *Tho mas Ridge*, Esq; a Member of this House, is guilty of great Frauds and Abuses, by having contracted to furnish, Five Thousand Five Hundred and Thirteen Tun of Beer upon his own Account, and Two Thousand Seven Hundred and Four Tun of Beer in Partnership with *Mr. Dixon* ; and having received Bills for the whole, altho he delivered but Three Thousand Two Hundred and Thirteen Tun on the first, and but One Thousand Two Hundred Sixty-Nine upon the latter Contract.

" *Resolve.*

" Resolved, That the said *Thomas Ridge Esq;*
 " be for the said Frauds and Abuses expell'd this
 " House.

" Resolved, That an humble Address be pre-
 " sented to her Majesty, That she will be plea-
 " sed to give Directions to her Attorney-General,
 " to prosecute the said *Mr. Ridge* for the said
 " Frauds and Abuses."

And yet the *Present Ministry*, immediately af-
 ter this, contracted with him anew, to furnish the
 Navy with Beer in the same manner he had hi-
 therto done, and for which he was expell'd; but
 upon much more advantagious Terms for the said
Mr. Ridge than before.

They likewise resolve, " That it appears to
 " this House, that of the Mony granted by
 " Parliament, and issued for the Publick Service
 " to *Christmas 1710*, there are *Thirty-five Mil-*
lions Three Hundred and Two Thousand One
Hundred and Seven Pounds, Eighteen Shil-
lings, and Nine Pence; for a great part where-
 " of no Accounts have been laid before the Au-
 " ditors, and the rest not prosecuted by the Ac-
 " countants, and finished." But to make up these
~~35,302,107 l. 18 s. 9 d.~~ the House of Commons
 was forc'd to take in Accounts from K. Charles's,
 K. James's, and K. William's Reign: And yet
 here were at the time of this Vote, but * *Four*
Millions Three Hundred and Thirty Thousand
One Hundred and Thirty-Five Pounds, and Two
Pence, unaccounted for.

* Vide State of the 35 Millions, &c.

The Debt of the Navy was another heavy Charge on the Late Ministry : But this is so fully explain'd in *A Letter to a Friend concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy,* that I shall refer the Reader to it for his full Satisfaction.

A fourth heavy Imputation on the Late Ministry, was, That the Publick Debts when stated, amounted to *Nine Millions Four Hundred and Eighty Three Thousand Two Hundred and Ninety Three Pounds, Thirteen Shillings, and Four Pence Halfpenny* : (a) Now of this vast Sum, *Two Millions Eight Hundred Ninety Seven Thousand Five Hundred and Twenty Nine Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, Four Pence Three Farthings*, was an old Debt of the last War ; and *Two MILLIONS SEVEN HUNDRED TWENTY ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND TWELVE POUNDS, FOURTEEN SHILLINGS, AND NINE PENCE FARTHING*, was a Debt incur'd since the Change of the Ministry : So that the whole Debt that can be laid to the Charge of the Late Ministry, can be no more than *Three Millions Eight Hundred Sixty Four Thousand One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, and Two Pence Halfpenny* ; and out of this, *One Million Five Hundred Fifty Seven Thousand Five Hundred and Forty Pounds, Twelve Shillings, and Nine Pence Farthing*, is to be deducted for the Deficiency of the Funds during their Administration ;

(a) *Vide A Brief Account of the Debts provided for by the South Sea Act, &c.*

Then there remains only Two Millions Three Hundred and Six Thousand Six Hundred and Ten Pounds, Six Shillings, Five Pence Farthing; which is but about Three Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum; almost an incredible small Sum, considering that in each of the two Years immediately following the Change of the Ministry, the Debt of the Navy amounted to DOUBLE THAT Sum, as will appear hereafter.

A fifth intollerable Article was,
 (a) Representation. (a) *Exceeding the Parliamentary Provisions*; which tho' it was call'd a new and illegal Practice, and a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament, yet the two very next Years the *Exceedings of Parliamentary Provisions* was much greater, and less justifiable, than in any Year under the Late Administration, as will appear hereafter.

To keep the Nation warm in the belief of all these *Intollerable Mismanagements*, and that the Criminals would most certainly be brought to condign Punishment, *Commissioners* are appointed by Act of Parliament, to *Take, Examine, and State the publick Accounts of the Kingdom*.

So much for Mismanagements this Session.
 Religion is now to be considered.

The Commons having taken so much Care to discover Abuses and Villanies in the State, their next Care is to have the Church flourish as much as possible; and in order hereunto, they pass a Bill for Building FIFTY New Churches; tho' how the want of so many New Churches can agree

agree with the Bill pass'd the next Sessions to prevent *Occasional Conformity*, I can't tell; however it was a very plausible Act, calculated to amuse the Nation with the Belief, that as they had nothing more at Heart than the Church, so the *late Ministry* had nothing less. But the chief Master-stroke to compleat the final Ruin of the *late Ministry*, was, the employing the Convocation to represent our Religion as in the utmost Danger, by reason of the *late Excessive Growth of INFIDELITY, HERESY, and PROPHANEZZ*; since nothing raises the Fury of the People more, even of a People that have scarce any Religion, much more of the People of *England*, who have naturally the greatest Veneration for Religion, than to see *Religion* undermin'd, than to see *Religion* decaying, than to see *Religion* just ready to leave them. But if any one will give himself the trouble to read a Pamphlet, intitl'd, *The Nation vindicated from the Aspersions cast on it in a late Pamphlet, intitl'd, A Representation of the Present State of Religion, with regard to the late Excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Prophanezz*, as it pass'd the Lower House of Convocation, he will be fully satisfy'd that there was and is as little ground for such a Charge upon the account of Religion, as by the Parliament upon that of Mismanagements.

The Parliament having in their last Sessions voted *Great Mismanagements at home* in the Publick Mony; now just before their second Meeting pops out *The Conduct of the Allies, and of*

the late Ministry, calculated to perswade the Parliament and the Nation, * That we
 * p.66. &c. were not bound to recover Spain
 and the West-Indies from the House
 † p. 57, 58. of Bourbon; † That we had begun and carry'd on the War CONTRARY TO REASON; That we had made weak and foolish Bargains with our Allies; That we had suffered them to treat us with Insolence and Contempt, at the very Instant when we were gaining Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any Prospect of Interest to ourselves:

The Parliament being met, the Commissioners for Publick Accounts make their Report; and therein charge the Duke of Marlborough with having defrauded the Soldiery of two and a half per cent. they likewise charge Mr. Walpole with having receiv'd Five Hundred Guineas in Specie, and a Note for Five Hundred Pound more, on account of two Contracts for Forrage of her Majesty's Troops in North-Britain: The House of Commons hereupon take these two Matters into their Consideration, and resolve, " That Robert Walpole Esq; (a Member of this House) in receiving the Sum of Five Hundred Guineas, and in taking a Note for Five Hundred Pound more, on account of two Contracts for Forrage of her Majesty's Troops quarter'd in North-Britain, made by him when Secretary at War, pursuant to a Power granted to him by the late Lord-Treasurer, is guilty of a high Breach of Trust,

" Trust, and Notorious Corruption ; " and pursuant to this Resolution, they expel him the House, and send him to the Tower : Tho it was made appear by Evidence upon Oath, That Mr. Walpole had not the least Interest or Advantage, directly or indirectly, in the Five Hundred Guineas, and in the Five Hundred Pound. For the Reader's full Satisfaction herein, I refer him to Mr. Walpole's Cafe, &c.

The House of Commons fall next upon the Duke of Marlborough : And to make the Nation believe that he is not prosecuted out of any Party-Malice, they first of all vote the *Two and a half per cent.* to be publick Mony, and to be accounted for ; and that it *should be continued for the Year 1712*, and apply'd for the Year. Thereupon a Prosecution is order'd : And after some time a Bill is exhibited in the Exchequer Chamber against his Grace ; to which he put in his Answer —— and then the Prosecution was dropt.

Now what Ground the House of Commons could have to vote the Perquisite of a General, as the *Two and a half per cent.* is, to be publick Mony, and to be accounted for, I know not.

The House of Commons having thus shewn their Zeal for their Country against these Robbers and Spoilers thereof hitherto discovered ; they now take into their Consideration the State of the War. The Parliament being fully dispos'd to resolve any thing herein, by reason of the Mist cast before their Eyes, and of the

Warmth rais'd in them by the many Falsities and Misrepresentations with which the *Conduct of the Allies* was stuff'd : Hereupon Addresses are made to her Majesty, for Accounts of the *Quota's* and *Proportions* of her Majesty and her Allies during the War ; and how the same have been observ'd ; for all Treaties for raising and augmenting Proportions ; and for whatever else was necessary for having a true State of the War laid before them. Pursuant to these Addresses, a State of the War is laid before the House ; and a Day appointed to consider of it : The Day being come, *Eleven Questions* ready penn'd, and put into proper Persons Hands, are mov'd one after another : And without more ado, in an Hour's time, the Parliament judge and condemn the *late Emperor*, the *present Emperor*, the King of *Portugal*, and the *States-General*.

My Lord *Townshend*, who had made a Treaty for securing a *Good Barrier to the States*, and for securing the *Protestant Succession in the House*

** Representation.* of Hanover to these Kingdoms, is censur'd and condemn'd, * for not only having thereby neglected, but sacrificed the Interest of Great-Britain, by several Articles in the said Treaty destructive to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom. If this had been so, an Impeachment was the least that could be expected ; but an Impeachment there was not ; Therefore, can it be true ?

To carry on this Farce of Mismanagements, the Authority of the Commissioners for Taking, Examining, and Stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, is by Act of Parliament continued for one Year longer ; and another Act is pass'd for the appointing Commissioners to Take, Examine, and Determine the Debts due to the Army, Transport-Service, and Sick and Wounded.

The House of Commons having taken so much Care of the State, their Care of the Church was not less ; for they not only pass'd a Bill against Occasional Conformity *here*, but likewise one in favour of the *Episcoparians* in *Scotland* ; and another for enlarging the time for building the *Fifty new Churches*. They likewise address her Majesty, to give the *Church Lands* in *Scotland* in the Hands of the Crown, to the *Episcopal Clergy* there THAT SHALL TAKE THE OATHS.

We come now to the third and last Session of this Parliament ; wherein the third and last Act of the *Farce of the Church and Mismanagements* is play'd : For to keep the Nation asleep in the Perswasion of great Mismanagements by the *late Ministry*, and of the Zeal of the *present* for the *Church* ; the Commissioners &c. make a second Report of great Mismanagements, *tho none is call'd to an Account for them* ; The Authority of these Commissioners for taking, &c. the publick Accounts, and for determining the Debts due to the Army, is continued ; And part of the *Strand* is vested in the Commissioners for the *Fifty new Churches*, to build one of them there.

Thus the present Ministry, by the Name of the *Church*, and *pretended Mismanagements at home and abroad*, have rais'd such a Frenzy in the People as could scarce have been imagin'd : — But such as *that very People* will have cause to repent FOR AGES TO COME.

I come now to my second Proposition, *viz.* That our Fury against the Dissenters and *late Ministry* hath made us come into and approve of as FOOLISH, KNAVISH, and VILLANOUS Acts, as any in King *Charles II.*'s Reign ; and believe as great Absurdities as any under that Prince : Nay, hath blinded us from seeing the *present Ministry* commit the VERY SAME Crimes that they unjustly got the *late Ministry* censur'd for ; and CRIMES that the *late Ministry* were never pretendedly guilty of, nor charg'd with.

For the greater Ease of the Reader, I shall confront them in the Manner following.

FOOLISH, KNAVISH, and VILLANOUS Acts,

Under King *Charles II.*

I.

King *Charles II.* dissolv'd two of his Parliaments to hinder the Bill of Exclusion passing.

Under the *present Ministry*

I.

The *present Ministry*, who were then coming into Play, got that Parliament dissolv'd, that impeach'd *Sacheverel* for condemning the Revolution, &c.

II.

Under King Charles II.

II.
Sir Roger L'Estrange and other Writers were employ'd to villify and traduce the greatest Patriots ; to turn the Burning of *London* on the Dissenters ; to ridicule the Popish Plot ; and to write in Defence of the Succession of the Duke of *York*.

III.

The Duke of *York* and his cursed Crew set the City of *London* on Fire ; and rescued the Offenders taken in the very Act.

Under the present Ministry

II.
The *Examiner*, the *Post-Boy*, and others, are employ'd to villify and traduce all the late *Ministry*, and all those that are for the late Glorious *Revolution* ; King *William* ; the *Protestant Succession* in the House of *Hanover*, and consequently against the Pretender ; to turn the Burning of *London* on the *Dissenters* ; to ridicule the Popish Plot ; to banter the Danger of the Pretender ; and to write for his Succession.

III.

The *present Ministry*, by their Agents, rais'd all those Mobs, consisting of *Jacobites*, *Non-jurors*, and *Papists*, that burnt several Meeting-Houses, and particularly set Fire to the Meeting-House in *Black-Friars*, which might most pro-

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

bably have set Fire to the whole City, by reason of the Narrowness of the Streets and Allys in that Part ; and that had *actually* form'd a Design on the *Bank* : and by their continued Mobs so terrify'd those Magistrates that would have seised the Ring-leaders, that they durst not meddle with them.

IV.

The Duke of *York* and his accursed Clan cut my Lord *Essex's* Throat ; took off the Head of my Lord *Rus-sel*, *Algernoon Sidney*, and others.

IV.

The *present Ministry* by their Bribery brought the late House of *Com-mon-s* to worry the *late Ministry*, by voting the aforementioned *Misma-nagements at home and abroad*: Which Mismanagements, if they were true, deserv'd not only Impeachments, but AT-TAINDERS too. But how *Villanous* is it not, to lay to the Charge of the *late Ministry* Debts which accrued both

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

both before their Administration, and since the Management of the present Ministry : How **Gillanous** is not, to expose the *late Ministry* to the publick Hatred, by Votes and Resolutions of the Commons of Great-Britain, without bringing them to their Tryal, that they might have an Opportunity of clearing themselves if Innocent, and of being brought to condign Punishment if Guilty : How **Gillanous** is it not, to have a faint Prosecution grounded on the Votes of the Commons, *only* to blast our General's Reputation, and to blind the Nation with pretended Injuries done to the Soldiers: How **Gillanous** is it not, to expel any Man out of the House Commons, for *pretended Frauds*

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Frauds and Abuses; and yet to contract with him anew, in the same manner for which he was expell'd, and for which he would deserve again as much to be expell'd if in the House, and punish'd if out of it, but upon more advantageous Terms for the Party; How **Villanous** is it not, to expel any Member out of the House of Commons, and to send him to the Tower for receiving of 1000*l.* which upon Oath appear'd was not for his Use or Benefit; only to ruin their Reputation, and to deceive the Nation with pretended Mismanagements: How **Villanous** is it not, to vote any Mismanagements, and not to Impeach the Criminals.

Under King Charles II.

V.

(a) Sir Anthony Dean, by Order of K. Char. II. built the Model of a Man of War, (of an Hundred and Fifty Tuns) and carried it by Water to *Rhoan*; and from thence the *French* King convey'd it by Land to *Versailles*; and laucht it into his great Pool.

(b) King *Charles* II. sent over to *France* from June 1675 to June 1677 *Granadoes* without number, shipt off under colour of unwrought *Iron*. *Lead Shot* 21 Tuns. *Gunpowder* 7134 Barrels. *Iron Shot* 18 Tuns, 600 Weight. *Match* 88 Tun, 1000 Weight. *Iron Ordnance* 441, Quantity 292 Tuns, 900 Weight. *Carriages*, *Bandiliers*, *Pikes*, &c. uncertain; likewise *Ship-carpenters* without number.

Under the present Ministry

V.

(c) My Lord Lexington, our Ambassador in *Spain*, offer'd the *Spanish* Court, on the part of her Majesty, what number of our *Men of War* that Court had a mind to, and such as they should chuse, and at moderate Rates Besides, in the *Paris Gazette* from *London*, March 3. 1712-13, there are these Words :

On continue a desarmar les Vaissaux ; & comme on a licentie beau-coup de Matelots, on leur a permis de prendre parti sur les Vaisseaux François. They continue to lay up the Ships; and as they have discharged a great many Seamen, they have given them leave to go into the French Service.

VI.

(a) *Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns*, Vol. 2. pag. 211.

(b) *State Tracts in K. Char. II.'s Reign*, Part 1. p. 92.

(c) *Daily Courant*, April 3. 1713.

Under King Charles II.

VI.

The Duke of Tork
and his Hellish Gang
broke the Triple League
against France, and enter'd into a new League
with France ; notwithstanding he, K. Char. II.
prided himself so much
in the Glory of that
League.

Under the present Ministry

VI.

The present Ministry
have made her Majesty
break her Alliance a-
gainst France, and clap
up a Separate Peace with
France ; notwithstanding
my Lord Treasurer af-
fur'd the House of Lords
in a solemn Debate, *That*
there was no Separate
Peace, and that the
same would be FOO-
LISH, KNAVISH, and
VILLANOUS : The
present Ministry have
thereby made her Ma-
jesty desert the Em-
peror whom she got to
be elected, and whom
by the strictest Allian-
ces, and the repeated
Declarations, she was
bound to assist : The
present Ministry have
thereby made her give
up Spain and the West
Indies to France, in
Violation of the most
Solemn Leagues ; in

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

in Contradiction to her repeated Declarations,
 (a) *That no Peace could be safe or lasting whilſt Spain and the West Indies remain'd in the House of Bourbon.*

VII.

King Charles II. after he had made a private separate Peace with France in June 1670, contrary to the Triple League in 1668 ; yet, in October 1670, he, by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, boasts to his Parliament of that same Triple League, as of a Peace (b) that produced that Effect, that it quenched the Fire which was ready to have set all Christendom in a Flame : And besides other great Benefits by it, which the Nation still

VII.

The present Ministry enter into separate Measures with France, in direct Violation of our Alliances ; scandalize, villify and traduce all our Allies ; send to and receive daily Couriers from the French Court ; make few or no Preparations for the War by Sea or Land ; and in one Word, act (as hereafter shall be specify'd) in such a manner as declar'd they would have a Peace right or wrong ; as afterwards was found too true : And yet they

(a) *Vid. Collection of the Queen's Speeches, &c.*

(b) *State Tracts, &c. p. 75.*

Under King Charles II.

enjoys, gave Opportunity to transmit those Forces against the Infidels, which would otherwise have been imbrued in Christian Blood.

VIII.

King Charles, after he had struck up a private separate League with France, boasted to his Parliament of the Advantages we should gain by the *Triple League*; and the Parliament pro-rog'd after having given vast Sums; (a) picks Quarrels with the Dutch about the Flag, the Affair of *Surinam*, Pictures and Medals; but handled these Matters so nicely, as not less afraid of receiving all Satisfaction therein from the *Hollanders* than of giving

Under the present Ministry

assur'd the Allies, (b) that they would not separate from them, (c) but would act vigorously that Campaign against France.

VIII.

The present Ministry, having thus behav'd themselves as inclin'd the Allies to think a separate Peace would be struck up, assur'd them that they would act Offensively against France that Campaign: Yet having a mind to fall out with the Dutch, (d) started Difficulties about the *Barrier Treaty*, and particularly, about the *Affiento*: But tho' the States had given their Plenipotentiaries such Instructions as would have

(a) State Tracts, &c. p. 78, 79.

(b) Post-Boy, April 8. (c) Ibid. April 15. 17.

(d) The Letter from the States to the Queen,

them

Under King Charles II.

them any Umbrage of arming against them upon those Pretences: then attacks them who expected no such Villanous Acts; and after having attack'd them, declares War against them.

Under the present Ministry

adjusted that Matter to mutual Content; yet to prevent the agreeing of these Difficulties, my Lord Strafford goes away without finishing that Affair; (a) Then the Duke of Ormond refuses to fight the French, by reason of the Orders sent him from the present Ministry so to do: And afterwards, they declare to the Dutch that her Majesty looks upon her self to be disengaged from all Obligations with them.

A B S U R D I T I E S.

I.

We believ'd King Charles II. did or would stick to the *Triple League* against *France*, and would

I.

i. We believ'd the present Ministry, upon their bare Word, That they would not get the

(a) The Letter from the *States* to the Queen; and a Letter from a Gentleman at the *Hague* to his Correspondent in *London*.

not

Under King Charles II.

not or had not struck up a *separate League* with *France*; tho after the Dutches of *Orleans's* coming over, and meeting the King at *Dover*, in 1670, he shew'd an *Indifference* for the *Triple League*; refus'd the Duke of *Lorrain* and the Emperor to come into it; sent Mr. *Henry Coventry* to *Sweden* to dissolve it; and was every Day searching into the Behaviour of the *Dutch*, for a ground of a War against them:

Under the present Ministry

Duke of *Marlborough* turn'd out, tho at the *very same time* they endeavour'd by (a) some of their Writers to render him odious to the People, by setting forth his great Incomes in the most invidious manner; and (b) by giving plain Hints, that we were in very great danger of his Grace's making himself *PROTECTOR*.

2. We believ'd the *present Ministry*, upon their bare Word, That they would not give up *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*; tho upon our Defeat in *Spain* in 1710, the House of Commons address'd her Majesty to send and procure more Troops to repair this

(a) *Examiner*, November 23. 1710. Reasons why a certain General hath not yet &c.

(b) Reasons why.

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Loss, &c. yet no Forces were sent from hence, nor Foreigners hired to repair this Loss: Tho the *Examiner*, April 26.

1711. speaking of the Address to the Queen about three Years before, to desire that her Majesty would not consent to a Peace *without the entire Restitution of Spain*, he calls it, "A Proceeding, which to People abroad, must look like the highest Strain of Temerity, Folly, and Gasconade. But we at home, who allow the Promoters of that Advice to be no Fools, can easily comprehend the Depth and Mystery of it. They were assur'd by this Means, to pin down the War upon us, consequently to increase their own Power and Wealth, and

D " multiply

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

" multiply Difficulties
 " on the Queen and
 " Kingdom, till they had
 " fixt their Party too firm-
 " ly to be shaken, when-
 " ever they should find
 " themselves dispos'd to
 " reverse their Address,
 " and give us leave to
 " wish for a Peace : "
 Tho in the Preliminary
 Articles sign'd by *Mes-
 nager*, there is no men-
 tion made of restoring
 Spain and the *West In-
 dies* to the House of
Austria : Tho the *Con-
 duct of the Allies*, and
 other Pamphlets, asserted
 that we were not bound
 to recover them from
 the House of *Bourbon* :
 And tho the *present Mini-
 stry* oppos'd in the House
 of Lords the adding this
 Clause to their Address
 presented Dec. 11. 1711.
*That no Peace could be
 Safe or Honourable to
 Great-Britain or Europe,*
if

*if Spain and the West-
Indies were to be allot-
ted to any Branch of the
House of Bourbon.*

3. We believed the present Ministry would stick to our Alliances against *France*, and not strike up one with *France*: Tho just after the Duke of *Marlborough* had passed the *French Lines*, we were surpriz'd with Publick Accounts, *That one Mr. Prior had been in France, and was return'd with a Pass; and that the French were in hopes of a Peace:* (a) Tho Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Minister here, who had expostulated with a Prime Minister of State about Mr. *Prior's Journey into France*, was so scandalously reflected on by the *Post-Boy*, that he complain'd thereof in a

(a) History of the Treaty at *Utrecht*. p. 147.

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Memorial : Tho (a) all our News-Papers, from this time to the coming over of *Mesnager* with the Preliminaries in September following, were fill'd with very particular Accounts of **Separate Negotiations for a Peace between France and Us**; and of the Confidence France had of a **speedy Peace**: Tho the *Examiner* of July 26th, 1711. hath this remarkable Passage,

“ I shall conclude with
“ observing the Beauty
“ of that Prospect which
“ lies before me, and
“ for which I con-
“ gratulate all my
“ Country - Men : ”

Tho Pamphlets came out to shew the Necessity of our making a Peace, because unable to carry on the War any

(a) *Post Man*, July 19. 1711. *Post Boy*, Sept. 20, &c.

longer

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Under the present Ministry

longer. We believed the *present Ministry* did still stick to our Alliances against *France*, and had not struck up a Peace with *France*: Tho the Preliminaries brought over by *Mesnager* were not by her Majesty communicated to the Ministers of her Allies, till first sign'd by herself: Tho after the signing of these Preliminaries it cost *Mesnager* (a) "but few Words to obtain Leave for the Marechal *de Tallard* to return into *France*. The Court of *England* granting it with a remarkable Generosity, namely, without any Limitation of Time;" And *Mesnager* himself was so kindly received by our Court, that the

(a) *Supplement, Octob. 26.*

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Under the present Ministry

French News took particular Notice thereof, at the very same time that Count Gallas the Emperor's Minister here was forbid the Court: Tho *Abel Roper* in one of his Papers tells us, That the Court of France sent *Mesnager* into England (a) "to concert there the Methods for establishing a general Peace;" And in another of his Papers, he tells us, (b) "That it is at her Majesty's Pleasure to make Peace or War;" agreeable to the Beginning of her Majesty's Speech June 16. 1712. when she laid before the Parliament the Terms of Peace, That "the making Peace and War is

(a) Supplement, Oct. 26.

(b) Ibid. Oct. 12.

"the

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Under the present Ministry

“ the Undoubted Prerogative of the Crown ;” And in others, (a) that these Preliminaries answer’d the End of our entering into the War : Tho he so scandalously reflected on Count *Gallas* the Emperor’s Envoy, that he complain’d thereof in a Memorial ; as (b) the Minister of *Portugal* and *Savoy*, for the Scandal thrown on their Masters by the same Writer : Tho (c) he and (d) others of our News-Writers gave us Accounts of a speedy Peace : (e) Tho he told us of Mr. *Prior*’s return into *France* for that

(a) *Post Boy*, Oct. 16. Nov. 10.

(b) *Ibid.* Nov. 10.

(c) *Supplement*, Oct. 19. 22: *Post Boy*, Nov. 21. 23.

(d) *Post Man*, Oct. 18. Nov. 15.

(e) *Supplement*, Oct. 19. Nov. 23.

End ; (a) Of Couriers frequently (b) arriving from *England*, (c) and Expresses sent to *England* ; and of a Present from the *French* King to her Majesty of (d) six compleat Suits, very rich, which he caus'd to be made on purpose ; " and if I mistake not, he made her another Present about that time Twelve-months of two Easy-Chairs upon Wheels : Tho *Mesnager*, after his return into *France*, " (e) highly extols the " good Disposition of " the *English* to put an " End to this bloody " and expensive War ; "

(a) *Supplement*, Nov. 23. 30.

(b) We did not act so when we treated with *France* in 1709. But *France* did daily send Expresses to the Court of *Spain*, whilst she was Treating with the Allies about the Cession of the *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Charles III*d. which show'd how well those two Courts did agree ; and that *France* intended nothing less than what she pretended ; as was confirm'd by what follow'd.

(c) *Supplement*, Dec. 14. (d) *Ibid.* Nov. 23. (e) *Ibid.* Oct. 26. And

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Under the present Ministry

And upon his return,
 (a) it was even observ'd,
 that his Majesty was
 not so pensive and me-
 lancholy as he had been
 for three or four Months
 before ; and was now
 “(b) highly pleased
 “with the Vigour of the
 “Queen of Great-Bri-
 “tain in advancing the
 “grand Affair of a ge-
 “neral Peace;” (c) and
 had sanguin Hopes of a
 speedy Peace ; nay, such
 sanguin Hopes, as to
 talk (d) of not having
 forgot past Affronts :
 Tho the Queen (e) had
 let the Elector of Han-
 over know, that he
 might take that Winter
some of his Regiments of
 Dragoons home to his
 Country : Tho some of
 our Prints gave us an

(a) *Ibid. Oct. 26.* (b) *Ibid. Dec. 7.* (c) *Ibid. Oct. 26. Nov.*
 (d) *Dec. 7. Post Man, Nov. 27.* (e) *Baron le Bathmar's Memorial.*

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Under the present Ministry

Account of the Dauphin's going to the Pretender's Mother to wish her Joy on the Peace : Tho the *Conduct of the Allies* complain'd of the War in manner above-mention'd : Tho *Abel Roper* and the *Examiner*, all along to the signing of the Treaty, most infamously reflected on the Allies : Tho in (a) some of his Papers *Abel Roper* fixes the Time of the Conclusion of the Peace ; and already, before the Congress, tells us, That (b) " Orders " have already been sent " to the Duke of Argyle, " to put the Troops (in " Spain) into Winter- " Quarters, to the end " they may be in a Con- " dition to march by " Land to *Calais*, and " there to embark for

(a) *Supplement*, Nov. 30.

(b) *Ibid.* Nov. 30.

" *Dover* :

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

"Dover :" Tho the Duke of *Marlborough* be turned out from being our General : (a) Tho *Abel Roper* scandalously reflected on the Instructions given by the States to their Plenipotentiaries : Tho the *French* at the Congress gave in such scandalous Proposals, that they were condemn'd by the House of Lords : Tho (b) the *French* Ministers carry'd themselves at the beginning of the Congress as haughtily as after the Affair of Count *Rechten* : (c) Tho King *Philip* at *Madrid*, about the same time, assum'd an Air of Grandeur, as if all his Pretensions were determin'd, and his Ambassadors were to be receiv'd at *Utrecht* as ea-

(a) Written Postscript, Jan. 12.

(b) Hist. of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, p. 231. (c) Ibid. p. 251,
sily

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Under the present Ministry

sily as any of the other Parties concern'd in the War ; And to shew that the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru* were still his own, he allow'd the Duke of *Ossuna* 40000 Crowns for his Equipage as first Plenipotentiary ; the Count *de Bergeyck*, the second, 20000 ; and the Marq. *de Monteleon*, the third, 16000 : Tho (a) the French King was not in the least humbled upon the Death of the two Dauphins, which threaten'd that Kingdom with a Minority, which is always attended with fatal Consequences : Tho (b) in two several Conferences we took part with France against all our Allies, " That we might enter " into Negotiation by

(a) Hist. of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, p. 251.

(b) *Post Boy*, March 27. April 3.

" way

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Under the present Ministry

“ way of Dictation,” and that it would not be amiss to begin a Verbal Negotiation : Tho the *Examiner* in (a) one of his Papers wherein he mentions How, and for what Reasons the *Dutch* made a *separate Peace* at *Nimeguen*, saith, “ That “ there was nothing in “ this Proceeding of the “ *States*, but what is a- “ greeable to the Con- “ duct of a wise People, “ Frugal, and Careful “ of the Good of their “ Country. It is cer- “ tainly the Duty, as “ well as Interest of “ those who Govern, “ by all possible Means, “ to extricate themselves “ from the Injuries and “ Horror of a Bloody “ and Expensive War, “ which hath so cor- “ rupted the Age, that

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Under the present Ministry

" it is not sufficient to
 " have a Queen of un-
 " exempl'd Piety, a Mi-
 " nistry Vigilant and
 " Just, pursuing the true
 " Interest of their Prince
 " and Country : " Tho
 there appear'd a very
 great Intimacy and close
 Correspondence between
 our Ministers at *Utrecht*
 and those of *France* :
 (a) Tho the Prayers
 relating to War, were
 left out in her Ma-
 jesty's Chappel : Tho
Abel Roper tells us,
 "(b) That the *English*
 Governor of *Port-*
Mahon had sent away
 the *Spaniards* that
 were in Garrison there
 to *Barcelona*, and had
 set up the Queen's
 Standard at the said
 Port ; " That (c) all
 the *English* Officers
 and Soldiers (in *Spain*)

(a) About April 9th.

(b) Post Boy, April 10th.

(c) Ibid.

" continued

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Under the present Ministry

“ continued to Embark,
“ giving out, that they
“ were returning to *En-*
“ *gland*;” That (*a*) Ex-
“ presses go frequently
“ from the Court of
“ *England*, being brought
“ by Persons of
“ *Quality*;” That
“ (*b*) the ancient Con-
“ fidence between the
“ Two Kingdoms is said
“ to be renew'd; and
“ the Commerce along
“ the Coasts to be re-esta-
“ blished with the same
“ freedom as in Times
“ of Peace;” That
“ (*c*) *Great-Britain* de-
“ sign'd to offer her Me-
“ diation, or at least,
“ her good Offices for a
“ Peace between the Al-
“ lies and *France*: also;
“ That she would de-
“ mand a Cessation of
“ Arms for 3 Months;
“ and that in order to

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Under the present Ministry

" obtain this, France
" was to put *Dunkirk*
" into the Hands of the
" English, as a Pledge of
" her Good Faith : "
(a) Tho when one of
the Dutch Ministers in a
Conference told the Ma-
reschal *d'Uxelles*, That
the French Court would
be deceived, if they ex-
pected Peace by Tamper-
ing with some of the Al-
lies, in order to divide
them from the rest ; To
which the Mareschal
answer'd, That not only
the present K. of France,
but even the whole Roy-
al Family, would enter
into a Vow, to take a
severe Revenge on the
Dutch, if they obstructed
the Peace : Tho the
(b) Examiner speaks of
the War being **at an**
End ; and of our hav-
ing been **happily and**

(a) Hist. of the Treaty of Utrecht, p. 281.
nigde

(b) May 1.
won:

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Under the present Ministry

wonderfully extricated out of its Confusions ; (a) And *Abel Roger* of AN APPROACHING PEACE : Tho the *French* trifled with the Allies, by not giving in new Proposals of Peace : (b) Tho we made little or no Preparations for War by Sea or Land, having laid up all our Men of War, and discharg'd the Seamen ; (c) Tho the House of Commons in an Hour's time censur'd and condemn'd the *late Emperor*, the *present Emperor*, the King of *Portugal*, and the *States General* : Tho Abbot *Gautier* resided here all this while : Tho the Duke of *Ormond* refus'd to fight the *French*, or

(a) *Post Boy*, May 13.

(b) The *late Ministry* did not act so when they treated with France in 1709. (c) Nor so neither.

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Under the present Ministry

undertake a Siege : Tho
 (a) Admiral *Jennings*
 not only refus'd to trans-
 port the Imperial Com-
 mander from *Italy* to
Catalonia, but took on
 board all the *English* that
 were in *Catalonia* to
 carry them to *Port Ma-
 bon* : Tho the *present
 Ministry* oppos'd the Ad-
 dress to her Majesty,
 That his Grace might
 have full Power to act
 in Conjunction with the
 Allies : Tho after his
 Grace had receiv'd Or-
 ders to undertake a Siege,
 he sent a Detachment to
 take possession of *Dun-
 kirk* ; receiv'd subse-
 quent Orders to pub-
 lish a Suspension of Arms
 between the *English* and
French Armies ; and not
 to continue covering the
 Siege of *Quesnoy* : Tho

(a) *Post Boy*, June 26. *Flying Post*, June 26. and the *Dutch
 Gazette*,

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

his Grace separated from Prince *Eugene*; proclaim'd a Suspension of Arms; and our Ministers at *Utrecht* prest the Allies to a Suspension of Arms: Tho one of our Ministers refus'd to have a Conference with but three or four *Dutch* Deputies, and not with one of each Province, tho it were the Custom: Tho my Lord *Strafford's* Journey *incognito* to Mareschal *Villars's* Army was follow'd by the *English* making themselves Masters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and thereby securing the Command of the *Lys* and *Schelde*; which so streighten'd the *Army of the Allies*, that it put a stop to their Progress: Tho the Commanders of the Towns were order'd, not to let the *English* pass, for fear they should seize them:

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Tho the *French* carry'd it so haughtily in the Case of Count *Rechteren* and *Mesnager*, that they could hardly be brought to accept of any Satisfaction: Tho my Lord *Bolingbroke* went over into *France*, and there concluded a Suspension of Arms by Treaty: Tho we disbanded a great many of our Forces in *Flanders*; re-call'd home those in *Catalonia* and *Portugal*; sent my Lord *Lexington* to *Spain*, and the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to *France*, as Ambassadors: Tho my Lord *Strafford* propos'd a Plan of Peace to the *Dutch*: Tho our Ministers endeavour'd to get the Electors of *Cologn* and *Bavaria* restor'd: Tho our Ministers mediated the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, and acted till the signing of the Treaty as *Mediators*,

Under King Charles II.

II.

We believ'd King Charles II. was a good Protestant ; because it was made highly Penal to say he was a Papist ; because he cry'd loudly *for the Church* ; and because he marry'd his two Nieces to two Protestant Princes : Tho he and his Brother the Duke of York burnt the City of London ; rescu'd the Criminals taken in the *very Fact* ; encouraged and promoted Papists ; and permitted his Brother to marry the Duchess of Modena a Papist, contrary to the Addresses of the House of Commons.

Under the present Ministry

Mediators, and not as Allies.

II.

We believe the *present Ministry* are against the Pretender, by their
 (a) " renewing Laws
 " to enforce the Abjuring the *Pretender* by
 " Name ; obliging the
 " French King to renounce him, and to en-
 " gage on the Faith and
 " Honour of a King,
 " for himself and his
 " Posterity, never to
 " aid, assist, or encou-
 " rage him to attempt
 " us ; and in the mean
 " time, to expel him
 " from his Country, and
 " from his Dominions,
 " and to acknowledge
 " the Title of the House
 " of Hanover :" (b) Tho

(a) Letter to the Dissenters, p. 22.

(b) As we are not to conclude any one virtuous or vicious from any one single Act, but from the Bent of his Actions ; so are we to judge of the *present Ministry* as to the *Pretender*.

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Abel Roper in his *Impartial Account* plainly wishes for the Pretender's Restoration: Tho a Medal was presented to the Dean and Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, with the Pretender's Head on one side of it, and round it these Words, *C U F U S E S T*, that is, *Whose Image is it?* and with Great-Britain and Ireland, with a Fleet of Ships on the Reverse, with this Inscription, *R E D D I T E*, that is, *Restore them*: Tho the Depositions concerning the Pretender's Birth, and so many other Pamphlets and Books in favour of *H hereditary Right* have been printed and published, without the least Enquiry made after the Authors, Printers, or Publishers, that the Princess *Sophia* took Notice

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

tice of it to Mr. Harley, our Envoy at the Court of Hanover: Tho the Revolution be both in Speech and Writing called a **Rebellion**, and King *William* our Deliverer under God, an **Usurper**, without any Notice taken thereof: Tho the People were hinder'd the 13th of November, 1711. and the 4th and 5th of November, 1712. from burning the Pope and the *Pretender*; But the Non-jurors make great Rejoicings in Scotland on the *Pretender's* Birth-Day, without any Notice taken thereof: Tho (a) Abel Roper acquits the Papists from the Burning of London, and flings it on the Dissenters: Tho nothing were done to Mr. Creswell and

(a) Post Boy, Sept. 20. 1712.

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Mr. *Mackdonald* for drinking the Pretender's Health, but being bound over to appear in the Queen's Bench : Tho the Prosecution against *De Foe* for Writing against the *Hanover Succession* was dropt ; and (a) a Pardon pass'd the Seals lately for him ; and a faint and remiss Prosecution against *Edward Lloyd*, News-writer at *Dublin*, for publishing Proposals for reprinting the Memoirs of the *Chevalier de St. George*, a seditious and treasonable Libel : Tho in our Demands given in at the Congress at *Utrecht*, no Article in favour of the poor Protestants in *France* were inserted, when all our Protestant Allies made some considerable De-

(a) *Post Boy*, Dec. 8. 1713.

mands

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

mands in their favour : Tho (a) the *Examiner* treats those *French Protestants* that have fled hither for Shelter among us against the very hottest Persecution that the *Christian Church*, or any part thereof ever underwent ; tho he treats them, I say, as **Rebels** and **Villains** ; and the House of Commons in *Ireland*, who have done so much towards preserving the Protestant Religion in that Country, particularly in drawing up a Bill **to attaint the Pretender**, and **to give a Reward to any that take him alive or dead**, are call'd (b) A MOST UNREASONABLE FACTION : Tho *Bushell*, a Protestant Servant to Mr. *Annesley* was

(a) *March 9. 1712.*

(b) *Post Boy, Jan. 5.*

hang'd

hang'd for robbing his Master, but the Papist that drew him into the Fact was pardon'd : Tho Mr. *Cass*, who was concern'd in the *Affassination Plot*, be Knighted : Tho *Abel Roper* in all his Papers takes a (*a*) particular Notice of the Pretender ; (*b*) rejoices upon his Recovery ; (*c*) and rails at those who reported he was Dead ; and (*d*) in one of his Written News-papers he hath this Remarkable Paragraph ; " We are inform'd, that Mr. *White* alias *Lesley*, is gone to *Swisserland*, in order, if he can, to convert a young Gentleman, and bring him over from Popery to Protestantism ; if he succeeds, 'tis hoped that

(*a*) *Post Boy*, March 25. May 6. 9. 20. (*b*) *Ibid.* April 8. 17.
May 6. (*c*) *Ibid.* May 20. (*d*) *Vide Medley*, Monday, July
30. 1711. for this Paragraph.

" there

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

" there will be no Experiment try'd hereafter
 " to run the Hazard
 " of making use of a
 " COME-OVER ; for
 " those sort of Gentlemen ought to
 " be no more trusted
 " than a stanch Whig
 " should, altho he swear
 " that he shall be for
 " the Church and Monarchy, except those
 " who have been sensible of their Errors,
 " and since their Conversion have merited
 " the Esteem of all honest Men : " Tho
 (a) the Dissenters be disturb'd in their Religious Assemblies ; but the Papists come as openly from Mass in Lancashire and other places, as the Churchmen do from Church ; and the (b) Examiner

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

advises the Nation, not to mention one word of the House of *Hanover* in their Addresses : Tho Boxes with the Pre-
tender's Pictures, and Popish Trinkets were seised ; but no Prosecution order'd against one Person taken in the Fact, nor Enquiry made after a Woman who was an Accomplice, and fled : Tho as appears by the Votes of the House of Commons in *Ireland*, That one *Jacob Twisleton* a Subject of that Kingdom, who went out of it since 1689. and was a Servant to the Pre-
tender, hath return'd into that Kingdom, contrary to the Statute which makes such returning without Licence, HIGH TREASON ; and that several who had been aiding and assisting our Enemies beyond the Seas during the

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

the first and last War,
are making Application
to obtain Licences to
return into that King-
dom, in order to exempt
them from the Penalty
of HIGH TREASON :
Tho the Parliament in
Ireland be prorogu'd for
six or seven Months,
whereby the Bill to at-
taint the Pretender can't
pass : Tho a Law be
pass'd in favour of the
Non-juring Clergy in
Scotland : Tho *Abel*
Roper in (a) some of
his Papers reflects on
the Baron *de Bothmar*,
the Elector of *Hanover's*
Minister : Tho we re-
sent not the *Pretender's*
taking upon himself the
Title of Duke of *Glou-
cester* ; and turning my
Lord *Bolingbroke* out of
the Box at the Play at
Paris : Tho ridiculous

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Accounts be published in the *Gazette* of the Inconsiderable Number of Papists in *London* and *Westminster*: Tho great Numbers of Priests and Jesuits have swarm'd over hither since 1710, and are still seen in great Numbers; nay, several have been seen at Court: Tho the *present Ministry* oppos'd in both Houses of Parliament the having the Allies for Guarantees of the *Hanover Succession*: Tho in *The Conduct of the Allies*, (p. 38, 39.) a Book from which the late House of Commons took all their Measures, they revile the *Guarantee Treaty* in the manner following; “What
 “ an Impression of our
 “ Settlement must it give
 “ abroad, to see our Mi-
 “ nisters offering such
 “ Conditions to the
 Dutch

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

" Dutch, to prevail on
 " them to be *Guarantees*
 " of our Acts of Parlia-
 " ments! Neither per-
 "haps is it right in point
 " of Policy, or good
 " Sense, that a Foreign
 " Power should be call'd
 " in to confirm our Suc-
 " cession by way of
 " Guarantee, but only
 " to acknowledge it:
 " Otherwise we put it
 " out of the Power of
 " our own Legislature
 " to CHANGE OUR
 " SUCCESSION with-
 " out the Consent of
 " that Prince or State
 " who is Guarantee,
 " how much soever
 " the Necessities of
 " the Kingdom may
 " require it:" And
 in the Further Search
 into the Conduct of the
 Allies and the late Mi-
 nistry, they say, (p. 9.)
 that by making a League
 of Guarantee for the
 Suc-

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

Succession, we legitimate the Impertinence of Strangers; and they call (p. 17) the Guarantee of our Succession, A SCANDALOUS THING; And in the New Guarantee Treaty propos'd by the present Ministry to the States, the States were not bound by several Clauses in it to secure the Succession to these Crowns in the House of *Hanover* immediately after the Demise of her Majesty without Issue of her Body, as it is limited by our Acts of Parliament; but only after the Death of all the Intermediate Heirs between the Queen and the House of *Hanover*: Tho at the Close of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Pretender sent to most of the publick Ministers

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

sters there, (a) a solemn Protestation under his GREAT SEAL, “against all that might be Agreed or Stipulated in Prejudice of Him, as being VOID by all the Laws in the World, for WANT OF LAW-FUL AUTHORITY;” in the beginning of which solemn Protestation he styles himself, James III. By the Grace of God KING of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith; Yet our Ministry took NO MANNER OF NOTICE THEREOF: (b) Tho Men be daily listed in Ireland for the Pretender by the Name

(a) Appendix to the History of the Treaty of Utrecht.

(b) Daily Courant, Jan. 29. Flying Post, Jan. 30. Febr. 18. March 4.

Under King Charles II.

Under the present Ministry

of King James III. without any Notice taken thereof, or pursued : Tho Sir Patrick Lawless, an Outlaw, and the Pretender's Envoy to the Court of Spain, be kindly receiv'd by the present Ministry ; be frequently at Court ; nay, tho he were introduc'd to her Majesty by my Lord Dartmouth.

III.

We believ'd King Charles II. when in his Declaration of War against the Dutch in 1672. he said, (a) And wheresoever we are engaged by a Treaty to support the Peace made at Aix-la-Chapelle ; We do finally Declare, that, notwithstanding the prosecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the said

We believe the present Ministry can discharge a Debt of above NINE MILLIONS without any further Charge to the People : Tho the Parliament vote 540,000 l. for the payment of the Interest of that Debt ; and the Funds of the general Mortgage, which were engaged but to the Year 1716, are continued as a Security

(a) State Tracts in King Charles 2d's Time, Part 1. p. 81.
Treaty

Under King Charles II.

Treaty, and that, in all Alliances, which we have or shall make in the progress of this War, we have, and will take care, to preserve the Ends thereof inviolable, unless provoked to the contrary: Tho he had clapt up a Peace with France; and assisted France to over-run the Dutch; directly contrary to that Treaty, which was made to stop the French from over-running them.

Under the present Ministry

for the payment of that Interest.

The VERY SAME CRIMES committed by the *present Ministry*, that they unjustly got the *late Ministry* censur'd for, &c.

By the *late Ministry*.

By the *present Ministry*.

I.

THE late House of Commons expell'd Mr. Ridge, one of their Meinbers, for great

I.

THE *present Ministry* immediately after Mr. Ridge's Expulsion, &c. contracted

By the late Ministry. By the present Ministry.

Frauds and Abuses in supplying the Navy with Beer.

with him anew to furnish the Navy with Beer in the same manner he had hitherto done, and for which he was expell'd ; but upon much more advantagious Terms for the said Mr. Ridge than before.

II.

The (a) late House of Commons in their Representation complain of the *Exceeding Parliamentary Provisions*, as *a New and Illegal Practice*, and *a Dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament*.

The (b) present Ministry exceeded the Parliamentary Provisions for the Navy the very two next Campaigns, by above **Six Hundred Thousand Pounds** the first Campaign, and by above **Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds** the next ; Tho the Parliament had made the same Provision for the Navy these two Years as in any other

(a) Representation.

(b) Vide An Estimate of the Debt of the Navy as it stood the 30th of September, with Observations thereon ; And a Short History of the Parliament, p. 14.

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

new insinuations
and all kinds
will not suffice
to sustain a
ment of
the
expedition
to Quebec.

71

Value of the
ships, and all requi-
site men had been
numbered, and
not to be account
of soldiers equipped
for the service.

III.

The late House of Commons complain'd of (b) supplying Provisions to Land Forces on board, without deducting from the Pay of those Forces, nor any thing re-assign'd to the Victualling.

Year of the War : The (a) Expence of the Year 1712. exceeded the Parliamentary Provisions above HALF A MILLION : The Expedition to Quebec was an Exceeding of Parliamentary Provisions : And tho' Accounts of all this were laid before the House of Commons ; yet no Notice was taken thereof.

III.

The (c) VERY SAME THING was done for the Regiments that were sent to Spain at the latter end of the Year 1710 : The VERY SAME THING was done in the Expedition to Quebec : And tho' these Services were under Consideration, and going on at the VERY SAME TIME

(a) A Short History, &c. p. 14.

(b) Representation.

(c) Short History of the Parliament, p. 14, 15.

By the late Ministry.

the Parliament was censuring the late Ministry for the VERY SAME MISMANAGEMENT; yet no Notice was taken thereof.

IV.

The (a) Great Incomes of the Duke of Marlborough were made use of to render him Odious to the People; which had the desir'd Effect.

By the present Ministry.

the Parliament was censuring the late Ministry for the VERY SAME MISMANAGEMENT; yet no Notice was taken thereof.

IV.

The (b) D. of Ormond upon his being made General, had immediately **Five Thousand Pounds** paid him for his Equipage, which the Duke of Marlborough never had, nor ever ask'd; had an Allowance of **Six Hundred Pound per Mensem** for his Table; which the Duke of Marlborough never had, nor ever ask'd: These were paid out of the **Two and a Half per Cent.** that the House of Commons voted publick Mony, and

(a) *Examiner*, Nov. 23. 1710. Reasons why a certain General, &c. (b) *A Short Hist. of the Parliament*, p. 22, 23.

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

to be apply'd to the publick Service. Compute this 600*l.* per Member and add it to the 5000*l.* for Equipage, and then see whether the *Two and a Half per Cent.* will make it good to the Publick. The Difference then is, the Foreigners by Treaty gave it to the Duke of Marlborough for Contingencies and Secret Service; the Parliament censure him for accepting it; and what then? Then Grant it themselves, or, which is the same thing, the Ministry do it for them, to the new General; for what? For Contingencies and Secret Services? No: for his Equipage and Table: Ten Thousand Pounds granted for Secret Service the Year before, is likewise issued to our

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

new General ; tho every body is capable of judging what need there was for it : Besides, our new General was Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Colonel of the first Regiment of Foot-Guards, of a Regiment of Horse, General and Commander in Chief at **Twenty Pound per Diem** : Add all these Incomes together, and see whether **Forty Thousand Pound per Annum** will not come short.

V.

The (*a*) late House of Commons censur'd my Lord *Townshend* for having yielded up to the States by virtue of the *Barrier-Treaty*, several Towns, and Places which could in no sense be lookt upon as part of a Barrier against France : As

By the (*b*) late Peace the *present Ministry* have not only given up to *France* part of the Island and Trade of *Newfoundland*, contrary to the 10 and 11 W. 3. cap. 25. which gives the whole Trade of that Island to the *English*, and expressly

(*a*) Representation.

(*b*) Article 13.

also

By the late Ministry.

also, for not only having neglected, but sacrific'd the Interest of Great-Britain by several Articles in the said Treaty destructive to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom.

By the present Ministry.

enacts, That no Alien or Stranger whatsoever (not residing within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed) Shall at any Time hereafter take any Bait, or use any sort of Trade or Fishing whatsoever in Newfoundland, or in any of the said Islands or Places above-mentioned; but likewise they have given up the VERY BEST PART THEREOF.

VI.

(a) The late Ministry were accus'd of having used the Queen so very ill at Windsor, that they forced her to fly to an adjoining Cottage.

VI.

Since the Change of the Ministry, the Queen hath not only in a manner wholly liv'd in the VERY SAME adjoining Cottage; but, if I may so say, hath been lockt up in that adjoining Cottage, since few or none have

(a) *Conduct of the Allies*, p. 65.

been

By the late Ministry.

with on and T abus
was of inde signified no
set

VII.

The late Ministry
were accus'd of having
neglected the Queen.

VIII.

(a) " Suppose, says
" the Examiner, in one
" of his Papers, a Coun-
" sel is to be pursued,
" which is necessary to
" carry on the dange-
" rous Designs of a pre-
" valing party, to
" preserve them in Pow-
" er, to gratify the un-
" measurable Appetites
" of a few Leaders, Ci-
" vil and Military, tho'
" by hazarding the Ruin
" of the whole Nation :

By the present Ministry,

been permitted to see
her.

VII.

When the Queen was
taken ill at Windsor, the
Day (Thursday) before
Christmass-Day last, my
Lord Treasurer was im-
mediately sent for; but
came not to her Majesty
till the Saturday fol-
lowing.

VIII.

The present Ministry
having by their Bribery
at Elections in 1710,
made themselves sure of
a Majority in the House
of Commons, got what
Mismanagements at home
and abroad voted as they
had a mind; thereby to
make the Nation eager
after a Peace on any
Terms whatsoever; and
consequently willing to
give up *Spain* and the
West-Indies to the House

By the late Ministry.

" This Council despe-
" rate in itself, unpresi-
" dented in the Nature
" of it, (a) they pro-
" cure a Majority to
" form into an Address,
" which makes it look
" like the Sence of the
" Nation. Under that
" Shelter they car-
" ry on their Work,
" and lie secure a-
" gainst AFTER-REC-
" KONINGS.

By the present Ministry.

of Bourbon to have
a Peace. Accordingly,
when a Project of Peace
was set on foot, whereby
Spain and the *West-*
Indies were suspected to
be given up to *France*,
the present Ministry by
their Management got
an Address from the
House of Commons
penn'd in general Terms,
full of entire Confidence
and Satisfaction in the
Just and Honourable
Peace in view; and
when the Terms of a
general Peace were laid
before the two Houses
of Parliament, by the
same dexterous Manage-
ment they got another
Address from the *Com-*
mons, whose *Hearts*
were full of Gratitude
for what had already

(a) This is meant of the Address about three Years before,
to desire her Majesty not to consent to a Peace without the entire
Restitution of *Spain*.

been

By the late Ministry.

of Bonaparte to have
a Peer according to
the Royal Decree of Peers
was set on foot where-
as some time ago the
Parliament were requested
to give up the power
of bestowing titles of nobility
for their distinguished services
from the King of France
and the Emperor of Russia,
and to make compensation
in the same proportion
for the loss of the
titles of nobility which
had been granted by
the French Government
and the Russian Empire
and the King of France
had given up his
titles of nobility
and the King of
Russia had done
the same.

By the present Ministry.

been obtain'd, which seem'd to be nothing but a French Renunciation; and who wanted Words to express the Satisfaction with which they received the good News of a Proposal for giving Spain to King Philip, which was to execute it self: They likewise got a general one from the House of Lords, to thank her Majesty for her steadily pursuing the true Interest of her own Kingdoms; and for endeavouring to procure to her Allies what was due to them by Treaties; and to assure her Majesty, that that House did ENTIRELY RELY on her Majesty's wisdom to finish that great and good Work. Under the Shelter of these Addresses the present Ministry carry'd on their Work of giving up Spain

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Bourbon, in DIRECT VIOLATION of Treaties, Alliances, (a) and contrary to Speeches from the Throne, Messages from the Queen to both Houses of Parliament, and Addresses of both Houses for TEN YEARS together; and lie secure against AFTER RECKONINGS.

IX.

The late Ministry were accus'd of having suffer'd our Allies (b) to treat us with Insolence and Contempt, at the very Instant, when we were gaining Towns, Provinces and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any prospect of Interest to ourselves.

IX.

Upon our having agreed with France on the Terms of Peace; if the Foreign Troops in our Pay had separated, as it was thought they would, with the Duke of Ormond from Prince Eugene's Army; The French had form'd a Design of Encompassing the Duke's Troops, and

(a) Vide a Collection of all her Majesty's Speeches, Messages,
&c.

(b) Conduct of the Allies, p. 58.

those

By the late Ministry.

~~to the late Ministry~~
 were accus'd of having
 (a) suffered our Allies
 tamely to break every
 Article of our Treaties
 with them.

X.

By the present Ministry.

those of the States, and
 of disarming the Foreign-
 ers in our Pay.

X.

I. The Autumn after
 the Queen had commu-
 nicated to both Houses
 of Parliament, the Terms
 of Peace ; one *Durant*,
 a French Protestant, a
 Pewterer in St. Martin's
 Lane, and another French
 Protestant, a Goldsmith,
 both Naturaliz'd, went
 over into *France* with
 the Queen's Pass ; but
 they were no sooner
 known to be French
 Protestants, than the
 Goldsmith was sent to
 the *Bastile*, and never
 heard of, till very lately
 that he is return'd ; and
 Mr. *Durant* was glad to
 get back into *England*,
 tho' he had apply'd him-
 self to Mr. *Prior*, who
 was then our Minister

(a) *Conduct of the Allies*, p. 58.

there,

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

there, for his Protection. Nay so very lately as the French Ambassador's return into France, when Monsieur *la Roche* went over with him with the Queen's Letter to the French King, to desire Leave for him to reside some time at *Montpellier* for his Health ; the French King would not permit it : So that Monsieur *la Roche* was oblig'd to return into England. Nay still later than this ; when Mr. *Lambard*, Son to Sir *John Lambard*, Merchant, a French Refugee, born in England, went over into France to see the Country and his Relations ; he was no sooner known to be a French-Man, but was sent for by the Lieutenant General of the Policies : Being come to him, the Lieutenant ask'd him,

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

him, whether he were not a *Frenchman*? Mr. *Lambard* answer'd, No; he was born in *England*: But, says the Lieutenant, is not your Father a *Frenchman*? Yes, said Mr. *Lambard*; Then, said the Lieutenant, I must send you to the *Bastile*; But if you can get any of the Courtiers to intercede for you with his Majesty, I will allow you two or three Hours; Mr. *Lambard* told him, that he knew the Mareschal *de Tallard*; and thereupon apply'd himself to him; who interceded for him to the King, but in vain: Then he apply'd himself to the Duke *d' Au mont*, to whom Mr. *Lambard*'s Father had been very serviceable, when over in *England*; the Duke went to the King; and with great Difficulty

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

Difficulty obtain'd his Pardon ; upon Condition that he withdrew out of the Kingdom in 24 Hours.

What greater Affronts can be offer'd ; what greater Contempt can be shewn by one Prince to another than what France hath to our Queen ? Did the Dutch or any of our late Allies treat the Queen with so much **Scorn** and **Contempt** ?

2. Tho by the Terms of Peace the French King was not only to (a) acknowledge in the strongest Terms the Protestant Succession, as by Law establish'd in the House of Hanover, to these Kingdoms ; but also to give an additional Security, by the Removal of that Person

(a) Queen's Speech, June 6. 1712.

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

out of the Dominions of France, who had pretended to disturb this Settlement; yet at the close of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Pretender sent to most of the Publick Ministers there, (a) a solemn Protestation under His GREAT SEAL "against all that might be greed or Stipulated in prejudice of Him, as being void by all the Laws in the World, for WANT OF FULL AUTHORITY." In the beginning of which solemn Protestation he styles himself, James III. By the Grace of God KING of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith: Yet

(a) Appendix to the History of the Treaty of Utrecht.

France

By the Late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

France took NO NOTICE THEREOF.

Besides, when *France* remov'd him to *Bar-le-Duc* in *Lorrain*; it was not out of the **Dominions of France**; the Duke of *Lorrain* being only a Lord Lieutenant of his own Country for *France*, as appears (a) by what the said Duke return'd by his Minister to the Bishop of *London* in answer to his Lordship's Instances for the Removal of the Pretender out of his Dominions: But supposing *Bar-le-Duc* were out of the **Dominions of France**; yet such a Removal would only be an **EVA-DING** of the Terms of Peace, and **NO TRUE PERFORMANCE** thereof, since it appears he

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

still adheres as firmly to his Interests as ever, by (a) causing all the Couriers that pass between *Versailles* and *Rastat* to take their Way through *Bar-le-duc*; and who leave great Packets of Letters for him; and the (b) Duke of *Berwick* frequently goes between *Versailles* and *Bar-le-duc*; and (c) other Persons of Distinction sent from *Rastat* to *Versailles* take that Town in their Way. Is not this a *breaking* of a main Article of the Peace?

3. Tho the Demolition of *Dunkirk* was to have been compleated (d) **WITHIN FIVE MONTHS** after the Conditions of Peace were concluded and signed; yet it was not begun till

(a) *Flying Post*, Dec. 26.

(b) *Daily Courant*, Dec. 10. 18.

(c) *Ibid.* Jan. 14.

(d) *Treaty of Peace*, Article 9.

a good

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

a good while after the EXPIRATION of those FIVE MONTHS. Is not this Trifling with us?

4. The (a) King of Spain laid under a General Embargo THIRTEEN of our Merchant Men at *Alicant*, to carry Stores and Troops for the reducing of *Majorca* and *Barcelona*; whereby our Merchants were retarded to send home their Wines and Fruits. A deplorable Circumstance to those concern'd! A fine Beginning of Trade!

5. By the late Treaty of Commerce between her Majesty and the French King, (b) " it is agreed and concluded, " That there shall be a Reciprocal and entirely perfect Liberty of Navigation and Commerce be-

(a) *Daily Courant*, Dec. 18. 1713. (b) Article 1.

By the late Ministry.

By the present Ministry.

"tween the Subjects
"on each Part, thro'
"all and every the King-
"doms, States, Domi-
"nions and Provinces,
"of their Royal Ma-
"jesties in *Europe*, con-
"cerning all and singu-
"lar kinds of Goods, in
"those Places, and on
"those Conditions, and
"in such manner and
"form, as is settled and
"adjusted in the follow-
"ing Articles : " But
now the *French* King
(a) by a new Edict pro-
hibits all the *French* Pro-
testants that are among
Us from trading into
France. Is not This a
DIRECT VIOLATION
of the said TREATY ?
And so soon too? What
Violations thereof are
we not to expect here-
after ?

(a) Flying Post, Jan. 13. 1713-14.

((88))

By the late Ministry. By the present Ministry.

Can any One Instance like this Behaviour of the French to Us, be equal or even approach'd in that of the Dutch, or any of our late Allies?

not like us? etc.

XI.

" Our (a) Victories By the Project of
" only serv'd to lead us to the South-Sea, we were
" on to further VISION to send Ships thither, a
" NARY PROSPECTS" Voyage of TWENTY
and embrace (b) New MONTHS, to trade
ROMANTIC VIEWS; with an Enemy, without
(meaning the Restitution having any Port or
of Spain and the West- Harbour; without any
Indies.) Forts: (c) And if we
had any Forts there; these Forts would be a
CONSTANT INTOLLE-
RABLE EXPENCE to us:

The

(a) Conduct of the Allies, p 70. (b) Ibid.

(c) A Letter to a Member of the October Club, p. 16, 17.
I should be glad to know what Ships we have already sent thither: What Commodities have been export'd thither: How many more Hands have been employ'd at home in working up Manufactures to be export'd than before? What Commodities we have brought back to employ our Poor in working up into Manufactures: What Increase of Shipping or Seamen hath been. But this Project, and giving up Spain and the West Indies to the House of Bourbon the present Ministry thought most proper: Whereas, " could King Charles have ever kept for any " while Possession of Madrid, 'twas always design'd to issue Or-

By the late Ministry. By the present Ministry.

The Spaniards might easily retake them before it could be possible for us not only to relieve them, but to hear they were attack'd : But if the Spaniards could not take them ; we could not force the People who are in possession

*The Allies and late
Ministry defended a-
gainst France, &c.
Part 4. p. 24.*

" ders from Old Spain to demand the Sub-
mission of the New, and that these Or-
ders should be back'd with a Squadron
and Troops ; for which purpose our
Admirals had suitable Instructions, that
no time might be lost by waiting for Orders from England,
and fitting out a Squadron. And as soon as King Charles, the
present Emperor, was Master of Barcelona, which gave us
hopes of a further Revolution in favour of him, in December
1705. the Ministry sent to my Lord Peterborough A Decla-
ration of the Emperoz for the West Indies, and Full Powers
of the Emperoz's Commissioners to the West Indies, to serve
as Hints for King Charles, whenever he should find it proper
to take part in that matter." If we had recover'd Spain, the
West Indies should soon have come under the Obedience of King
Charles ; it being always found true, that Colonies never separate
themselves from the Jurisdiction of their Mother Country. And then
what Advantages might we not have most reasonably have ex-
pected : Is sending THREE or FOUR SHIPS to the South Sea,
whilst France trades to the Spanish West Indies, advantageous to
us : And what would it not have been, to have had free liberty
to send to the Spanish West Indies what number of Ships we
pleased, EXCLUSIVE OF FRANCE ? What Advan-
tages might we not most reasonably have expected from
the Prince, who would have owed his Crown to OUR faith-
ful ADHERENCE to our Treaties and Engagements to him ?

By the late Ministry. By the present Ministry.

of the Mines of Peru, Mexico, or Brazil, to trade with us, being at the Distance of MANY HUNDRED LEAGUES; and having nearer Ways to Europe than by such Forts: But if they would trade with us; yet such Trade would not be so much for our Advantage as selling our Manufactures to Old Spain; because we sell abundance more, and subsist greater Numbers of our People by cloathing the Inhabitants of BOTH Spains, than by trading to One ONLY.

It appears by plain Matters of Fact (*a*) that no Nation was ever so long, and so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its Domestick

It appears by these plain Matters of Fact, and will appear more by those hereafter mention'd, that no Nation was ever so long, and so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Te-

(a) *Conduct of the Allies*, p. 20.

By the late Ministry. [By the present Ministry.]

Crimes; or treated merit, the Corruption with so much Injustice, the Ambition lence, Injustice and of its Domestick ingratitude, by its enemies; or treated Foreign friends. With so much Insolence, as was given by Injustice and Ingratitude v'd most several attitude, by its Foreign friends.

that say ; as now been
clsd for blow shd

C R I M E S committed by the Present Ministry, that the Late Ministry were never pretendedly guilty of, nor charg'd with.

I.

THREE of the Commissaries appointed to settle the Trade between Great-Britain and France, do not understand one Word of French. Is not this Treachery to the Nation?

Prior, once a Drawer, and More, once a Footman, were employ'd to manage the great Affair of Peace and Trade.

Is not this a Contempt of all our Nobility and Gentry?

All the Letters have been frequently open'd at the General Post-Office.

Is not this a Breach on Human Society?

IV.

((91))

IV.

Several Gentlemen of *very ancient Families in Cheshire* have been turn'd out of the Commission of Peace for that County, ~~now without the Queen's Knowledge.~~

Is not this *assuming the Regal Power?*

V.

Cattle have been transported into France in DIRECT VIOLATION of the Statute of 8 Eliz. cap. 3. intitl'd, *An Act against carrying over Sea, Rams, Lambs, or Sheep alive;* by which for the First Offence the Offender forfeits all his Goods for ever; to suffer Imprisonment for a whole Year without Bail or Mainprise, and at the end of the Year, in open Market, in the fullness of the Market, on a Market-Day, to lose his Left-Hand, which is to be nail'd up in the openest Place in the said Market; and for the Second Offence to suffer as a FELON.

Is not this exercising a Dispensing Power?

If Mr. Prior, in 1711, went over into France without a Licence from her Majesty under her Privy-Seal, he is guilty of HIGH-TREASON by the 3 and 4 Anne, cap. 14. Sect. 2. If he did go over with a Licence; it is very proper to have the Cause thereof enquired into.

VI.

After the Defeat we receiv'd in Spain in 1710, the House of Commons address'd her Majesty to send and procure more Troops to repair the Loss; but no Forces were sent from hence, nor Foreigners hir'd to repair the Loss.

Is

Is not this making our Parliaments become only
a *Shadow* of Parliaments ?

VII.

The *Assassination* of the Queen discover'd at
Dover hath been hush'd up ; tho' the Person dis-
covering the same, and his Depositions, were sent
up to one of the Secretaries of State.

Is not this *Misprison* of Treason ?

VIII.

1. The great Arrears due to our Poor *Protestant* Brethren who have fled hither out of *France* from the Hottest Persecution that the *Christian* Church ever underwent, ought not to pass unob-
serv'd ; not one of them having been paid a Far-
thing since the Change of the Ministry ; because,
as I suppose, they are look'd upon by the *present*
Ministry as (*a*) *Rebels* and *Traytors* ; tho' by
the 7. and 8. W. 3. Cap. 30. Sect. 31. *Fifteen*
Thousand Pound per Annum is appropriated for
their Relief : I am just now told, that Notice is
given them, that they shall be paid *Half a Quar-*
ter to compleat the Year *Seventeen Hundred and*
Ten.

Is not this *Inhumanity* ?

2. The Arrears due to the Officers of the
Household during the late Administration were
caus'd by applying *Five Hundred Thousand*
Pounds of the Civil List to the War, and other
publick Occasions ; but since the Change of the Mi-
nistry their Arrears are double to what they were

(a) *Examiner*, Mar. 9. 1712.

before ;

before ; tho no Part of the Civil List hath been apply'd to the publick Service as before : And what is more, since the raising of the 500,000 l. by Act of Parliament, few have been paid, and that not till very lately.

Is not this making *Tools* of our Parliaments ?

3. The Mutiny at *Ghent* about a Year ago, and that at *Rochester* a few Months ago, demonstrate how well the Soldiers have been paid by the *present Ministry*.

Is not this *Injustice* ?

There were no Mutinies for want of Pay when the Duke of *Marlborough* was at their Head, tho he had *Two and a Half per Cent.* out of their Pay.

IX.

The manner of disbanding our Regiments at home is somewhat remarkable ; I shall instance only in Brigadiers *Bor's Regiment of Marines* ; 4th of *September* last VIII Men were disbanded ; 5th, XV more ; 7th, XX more ; 8th, V more ; 9th, XXVII more.

The Commissaries, Agents and Clerks, have about **twelve Pound per Diem** for their Service.

Is not this *squandering* away the publick Mony ?

X.

The manner of disbanding our Forces *abroad* ought not to be unregarded.

The Poor Soldiers are turn'd off without a Farthing given them ; or so little as will not serve to bring them back to their NATIVE COUNTRY.

Such Treatment of the Soldiers, if I mistake not, amounts to **Banishment** ; which is contrary

trary to MAGNA CHARTA, Chap. XXIX.
which expressly declares, That no Freeman shall be
EXILED, but by the JUDGMENT of his Peers,
or by the LAW of the Land.

Is not this exercising an Absolute Power?

XI.

'Tis near a Year, if not more, since my Lord Scarsdale was appointed to go Ambassador to the Court of Vienna; but is not yet gone; nor is there any Appearance of an intended Ambassy thither, tho he hath received good part of his Salary.

My Lord Bingly hath been appointed Ambassador to Spain near Four Months ago: (a) His Lady took her last Leave of her Majesty, and kis'd her Hand on December 17th; and his Lordship was (b) entertain'd by the Directors of the South-Sea at Merchant-Taylors-Hall on January 16th. But there is no Appearance of an intended Ambassy: And whether he hath not received Part of his Salary, I leave any one to judge.

Is not this Making a Jest of the Nation?

Is not this giving Pensions, instead of employing the publick Mony as it ought?

XII.

We have no Publick Minister at the Court of Vienna.

Is not this betraying the Nation?

(a) Post Boy, Dec. 22, 1713.

(b) Ibid. Jan. 16. 1713-14.

In the Year 1711, Mr. Prior's Journey into France having alarm'd all the Ministers of the Allies, especially Count Gallas, the Emperor's Minister here; he had a Conference with the Prime Minister about it, who told him, he had no reason to be alarm'd, for the Queen would never make a Peace derogatory to any Engagements she had with her Allies. See before how every thing since this Declaration hath tended to make a separate Peace with France.

Whilst the Confederates were settling the manner in which they should give in their Answer to the French Proposals, my Lord Strafford assur'd the States, That Great-Britain would be prepar'd to carry on the War with the utmost Vigour, in case a Good Peace could not be obtain'd. The Duke of Ormond likewise assur'd the Dutch Ministers, That Great-Britain would continue the War with Vigour, till the Enemy was brought to such Terms, as might render Peace Lasting and Honourable. And yet after these Declarations, when the French Ministers propos'd several times entring into a Negotiation by Word of Mouth and not in Writing, tho' all the Allies were against it, we took the Part of the French: And there was a great Intimacy and close Correspondence between our Ministers and those of France. And at home, the House of Commons censur'd the late Emperor, the present Emperor, the King of Portugal, and the States-General: and when the Confederate Army was to have attack'd

attack'd the French before Cambray, his Grace declar'd, that he had receiv'd positive Orders by a Courier, not to agree to a Battle; and when it was propos'd to undertake a Siege, he declar'd, *That his Orders forbade him to enter into any Action against the Enemy, either by Battle or Siege.*

After the Duke had thus refus'd to fight, Orders were sent him to concur with the Generals of the Allies in a Siege; and accordingly Quesnoy was besieg'd by the Confederates: Yet during the Siege the Duke told the States Deputies, that if they persisted to carry on the Siege, he would cover it no longer, intending to march off with his Troops in Three Days.

After this shameful Act of the Duke's, and the Terms of Peace laid before the Parliament; the Bishop of Bristol, June 21. declar'd to the Ministers of the Allies, that the Reports spread abroad as if the Queen his Mistress design'd to make a separate Peace, were Groundless; and that her Majesty had no other Design in view, than to procure a general Peace, wherein all the Allies might find their respective Advantages and Security: And my Lord Treasurer, in the House of Lords, declar'd, That there was no separate Peace; and that the same would be FOOLISH, KNAVISH, and VILLANOUS.

But what Truth was there in all this, (a) when Admiral Jennings not only refus'd to transport

(a) Post Boy, June 26. Flying Post, June 26.

the Imperial Troops from *Italy* into *Catalonia*, but likewise took on board the *English* Troops in that Country to carry them to *Port-Mahon*: And the Duke of *Ormond* made a Detachment of Ten Battalions to take possession of *Dunkirk*; and afterwards, *June 25th*, declar'd to Prince *Eugene* and the States-Deputies, that he had receiv'd Orders to publish, within Three Days, a Suspension of Arms for Two Months, between his Army and the *French*; and that if they persisted to carry on the Siege of *Quesnoy*, he would cover it no longer, intending to march off with his Troops in Three Days; And my Lord *Strafford* went *incognito* to the *French* Camp, to confer with the Mareschal *de Villars*; which was follow'd by the *English* making themselves Masters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and thereby securing the Command of the *Lys* and *Schelde*, which so streightned the Army of the Allies, that it put a stop to their Progres and Honour?

Are not these several Acts so many *Prostitutions* of the *Words* of the *present Ministry*?

XIV.

An Act of *H Y P O C R I S Y* that K. *Charles II.* was never guilty of, and *equal* if not *superior* to any of those *Oliver Cromwel* was and is famous for.

King *Charles II.* never had a *Fast Day* for imploring God's Blessing on any intended Treaty, that thereby might be produc'd an Honourable, Secure and Lasting Peace; and his Assistance on the Arms of his Majesty and his Allies, and his

and their Forces both by Sea and Land, till their Enemies might submit to such a Peace, when he had already either actually agreed on the Terms of Peace with *France*, or was unalterably resolv'd to have a Peace with *France* right or wrong.

Oliver Cromwel, when the King lost his Head, pretended to consult the Lord, to know whether the King should be beheaded or not ; tho he had order'd the Execution to be during that time. This was certainly a most black Piece of Hypocrify ; and yet not so Black as what was done in the Year 1713. For when the present Ministry had sent Mr. Prior over into *France* to make the first Overtures of Peace to our baffled and despicable Enemy ; had brought her Majesty to sign the Preliminaries brought over by *Mesnager*, before they were communicated to the Ministers of the Allies residing here ; had got Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Envoy, forbidden the Court, but had received *Mesnager* with such great Civility that the French Papers took a very pleasing Notice thereof ; had by the *Post-Boy* and other Papers endeavour'd to prove that the Preliminaries answer'd our End of entring into the War ; and consequentially hereto, had by the *Post-Boy* so scandalously reflected on the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy*, that their Ministers here complain'd thereof ; had by the *Conduct of the Allies*, which was the Compas by which the House of Commons steer'd, complain'd of the War, and scandaliz'd all our Allies : When Couriers had pass'd

to and fro between our *Ministry* and the *French King*; and the *French King* had every Day more than other more sanguin Hopes of a speedy Peace; and thereupon had made her Majesty a Present of *six compleat Suits, very rich made on purpose*; when by these, and many other Symptoms, it was self-evident that they had either actually agreed on the Terms of Peace with *France*, or were *unalterably resolv'd to have a Peace with France, right or wrong*; and which our Behaviour after, both at home and abroad, confirm'd; On the 19th of December there comes out a Proclamation for a GENERAL FAST to be observ'd on the 10th of January following, *To implore God's Blessing &c.* as aforesaid; which was perform'd according; but between which and the Observance thereof the Duke of *Marlborough* was turn'd out: That Act of Hypocrify by *Cromwel* was but the Act of *one Man*; but in our Case, the present *Ministry* will have a *whole Nation* mock God.

Is not this *Hypocrify* with a witness?

XV.

Count *Gallas* having expostulated with the Prime Minister of State about *Prior's Journey to France*; was so scandalously reflected on, as well as his Master, by the *Post-Boy*; that the Count presented a Memorial to one of her Majesty's Secretaries about it: And all that was done to the *Post-Boy* was, he was summon'd before the Secretary, and shew'd the Paragraph the Count took Notice of in his Memorial, and askt whence he

had it? To which the *Post-Boy* answer'd, he had it in a Letter from the *Hague*; which he was call'd upon to produce, but refus'd, pretending there was nothing against the Government. The *Post-Boy* was dismiss'd, with a *Caution not to use the Count's Name.*

The *Post-Boy*, Nov. 10. 1711. reflected on the Duke of *Savoy*, and the King of *Portugal*, in such infamous terms, that their Ministers complain'd thereof; and nothing was done to the Author, but being bound over to appear in the *Queen's-Bench*.

Are not these *Violations* of the Laws of Nations?

XVI.

By the second Grand Alliance made in 1701. Article the 8th, it is expressly stipulated, That *no Peace shall be made, unless an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction for his Imperial Majesty be first obtained*; And by the Treaty between the *Emperor, England, Portugal, and Holland*, it is expressly stipulated, in the 21st Article, That there shall not be at any time a Peace concluded, whilst *his most Christian Majesty's second Grandson by the Dauphin, or any other Prince of French Extraction, shall continue in Spain*. Yet notwithstanding these most solemn Leagues and Treaties, the present Ministry have made a Peace with *France*, without obtaining a reasonable Satisfaction for his Imperial Majesty; they have made a Peace with *France*, whilst his Most *Christian Majesty's*

Majesty's second Grandson by the Dauphin continues in Spain.

By the 7th Article of the second Grand Alliance ; it is expressly stipulated, That the Confederates " shall faithfully communicate their Designs to one another ; " and by the 8th Article, That " it shall not be permitted to either Party, " when the War is once begun, to treat of Peace " with the Enemy, unless jointly, and with the " common Advices of the other Parties ; " and by the 21st Article of the Portugal-Treaty, *That neither Peace nor Truce shall be made, but by the mutual Consent of all the Allies* ; And yet the present Ministry privately sent Mr. Prior over into France ; They did not communicate to the Allies their Negotiations with France, before the Preliminaries were brought, nor after.

Are not these several most solemn Leagues and Treaties violated by the *present Ministry* ?

XVII.

We drew the Catalans into the War. My Lord Peterborough, after the taking of Barcelona, assured them of being constantly supported by her Majesty ; in proof hereof her Majesty sent her Fleets, which reliev'd that Town ; and frequently sent Supplies of Men and Shipping thither : Yet notwithstanding all this ; the *present Ministry* have basely betray'd that brave unhappy People.

Is not this Treachery ?

Can those Ministers be true to their Native Country, which is free ; when they have thus *infamously* betray'd *that* brave *free* People ?

Should the Ministry, to amuse the Nation, and varnish over so horrid an Act of Perfidy, intercede with the *Spanish* King in their behalf : Would not this be *meer Grimace* ?

Would the Ministry deserve any Thanks from this Nation for such Intercession ; when they *groundlessly, perversely, FOOLISHLY, KNAVISHLY,* and *VILLANOUSLY*, have put it out of their Power to force the *Spanish* King to confirm the Liberties (thou dear Name) of that People, and thereby have reduc'd themselves to the Condition of Interceding instead of Commanding ?

No ; A Scaffold and an Ax rather !

As *David* gave up the Sons of *Saul*, who by slaying the *Gibeonites* brought a three Years' Famine upon the Land, that they (*the Gibeonites*) might hang them up unto the Lord ; who did so ; and that thereby God was intreated for the Land : So let us do with *those Ministers* who, by betraying the *Catalans*, have left them to the Cruel Mercy of a *French Bigotted Prince* ; that by thus hanging them up unto the Lord ; he may be intreated for the Land, that the Blood of that People cry not for Vengeance against us, nor our latest Posterity.

Thus we see what a *Blind Zeal* hath brought us to.

1. To make us insensible of the vilest Actions.
2. To make us believe the grossest Absurdities.
3. To

3. To make us not see the *very same Crimes*,
were doing, that we were *then* censuring others
for. And,

4. Crimes that the late Ministry were never
guilty of.

I pray God this may be the last time of our
Punishment with such a **Dismal Infatuation.**

I come now to make out my Third and *last*
Proposition, *viz.* That this Fury hath brought
the Nation to the Brink of Ruin **NOW**, as it
did **THEN**.

If we do but attentively consider the two former
Propositions, we shall soon be satisfy'd, that as in
King *Charles II*'s Reign they were but the Pre-
mises to this Third, which was their Conclusion ;
so they are *Now*.

The Rage and Fury before-mention'd of the
Church against the Dissenters under K. *Charles II.*
made *that very Church* blind to all the Designs of
the Papists : For tho all this while the Court not
only *conniv'd* at the Papists ; *caress'd* the Papists ;
allow'd the Papists to be *Dutiful and Loyal Sub-*
jects ; *admitted* the Papists into Civil and Mili-
tary Employments ; yet the *Church* either *saw* it
not, or *would* not see it ; because the Papists join'd
in with them in their Violence against the Whigs
and Dissenters. But at length, the repeated En-
croachments made on the Constitution, *under*
pretence of suppressing the Whigs and Dissenters ;
and the barefac'd Countenance given at the same
time to profess'd Papists, began to open all Mens

Eyes, and to shew them the horrid Designs of the Court. Thereupon the Parliament, the Nation, and those of the Clergy, that by their Learning, Piety, and Christian Lives and Conversations were an Ornament as well as a Real Defence to the Church, became sensible they had been made the Tools to pave the Way to their own final Destruction both in Church and State ; and that it was neither the Church nor the State that K. Charles car'd a Pin for, but Popery and Slavery that he aim'd at bringing in, under the Cloak of the Church and State. The Parliament, the Nation, and the best and most worthy of the Clergy, being made sensible of all this ; immediately chang'd their Opinion of the Dissenters, and look'd upon them no longer (a) as Enemies to the Church, of factious and seditious Principles, dangerous to Government, and to Monarchy, and Enemies to Cesar ; but as Men that according to their Professions of their Innocence, their Loyalty to the Government, their Zeal for the Preservation of the Person of the King ; and according to their Desire of nothing but the Liberty of their Consciences, and of Worshiping God after their own Manner, did live peaceably and quietly under the Government, in all Godliness and Honesty. So that in King Charles II's Reign, the Dissenters, whose Behaviour was Uniform throughout all his Reign, were represented to us as Enemies to the Church, of factious and

(a) Letter to the Dissenters, p. 4.

seditionis

seditious Principles, dangerous to Government, and to Monarchy, and Enemies to Cesar, ONLY whilst the Parliament, the Nation and the Church, were effectually, tho ignorantly, introducing Popery and Slavery, by the self-same Methods that they thought they were securing the Church and State by, against the Dissenters: But the Parliament, the Nation and the Church, no sooner perceiv'd how near Popery and Slavery were breaking in upon them, than they became sensible, that it was their Fury, Rage and Madness against the Dissenters, that had blindly burry'd them on to consent to and approve of the greatest Encroachments made both on the Liberties of the People and the Establisht Religion, because under pretence of crushing the Whigs and Dissenters.

Since I have thus vindicated the Dissenters from the foremention'd Calumny under King *Charles II.* give me leave to clear them from the same groundless Scandal down to the *present Time.*

The Case of the Dissenters under K. *James II.* was exactly parallel with that under K. *Charles II.* For whilst the King laid a heavy Hand on the Dissenters under colour of preserving the Church; the Church, especially the High-Church Clergy, were Tooth and Nail for *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*; They represented the Dissenters *to us as Enemies to the Church, of factious and seditious Principles, &c.* but the Church no sooner saw thro' the King's Design of introducing *Popery and Slavery* (*a*) than she chang'd her Opinion of the Dis-

(*a*) *Art of Governing by Parties, p. 23, 24, 25.*

Dissenters, and as a Consequence thereof, of their persecuting them : So that here again ; whilst the Church was venting her Rage against the Dissenters, to secure herself, as she thought, against them ; she was not aware that the **very same** Arbitrary Power she so much cry'd up to have the Dissenters crusht by, might and would be turn'd against her, when a fitting Opportunity presented itself, after those Dissenters were crusht : Which was no sooner made palpable to her Senses, than she was totally convinc'd of the Folly and Unfitness of the Method of Persecution ; and that her Zeal against the Dissenters had carry'd her to consent to and approve of such Arbitrary Acts, as now brought *that very Church*, for whose Service they were intended, into the utmost Danger, and from which Nothing *under God* could rescue her but that **very Resistance** once so much condemn'd by her.

After the Revolution, several Acts were past in favour of the Dissenters : And what less could the King and the Church do for *them*, who had appear'd so zealous in the Revolution ? For *them* ; whom the Church had so often found *by fatal Experience* true to the Interest of *England*, and the Protestant Religion ? For *them* ; whom the Church had so often found *to their Cost not to be Enemies to the Church, of factious and seditious Principles, dangerous to the Government and to Monarchy, and Enemies to Cesar.*

During

During King William's Reign, I am confident, none can charge them with a *faction* and *sedition* Behaviour towards the Church or State.

Towards the Church.

I never yet heard of any *faction* and *sedition* Act laid to their Charge *in particular*; but only in general: Which is a Demonstration of their Innocence; since those that charge them in general with Crimes, would, if they could, have fixt upon them something in particular: But since they do not; they cannot.

Now if the High-Church Clergy would have made some few *Alterations in the Liturgy, Ceremonies and Canons*; would have *corrected Abuses in Ecclesiastical Courts*; would have taken into their Consideration *the Examination of Persons to be admitted into Orders, as well as the removing of scandalous Ministers, the Reformation of Manners in the Clergy and People*; Which were the Heads recommended by the late King and Queen in their Commission to the Convocation summon'd by them in order either wholly to compose our Differences, or to make the Terms of Communion with the Church so easy, that very few Protestants at home or abroad, might scruple conforming with it: Now, I say, if the High-Church Clergy would have comply'd with this *Blessed Design* of those two Excellent Princes, they would infallibly have brought into the Church most, if not all, of the Dissenters: But since the High-Church Clergy would not comply there-

therewith ; if *Schism* be a Sin, it lieth at their door, who might, and would not put an End to it ; and who thereby give a Demonstration to the whole World, that they find their Ends in keeping up the Differences between the Church and the Dissenters ; and do not think that *Schism* is so Black a Sin as they themselves represent it ; or if they really do ; the Guilt thereof must lie so much the more heavily on their Shoulders ; and that they would rather D A M N the Dissenters, than part with the least Ceremony.

Towards the State.

Amongst all the Conspirators executed in this Reign, **not one Dissenter** was found : Amongst all those that were discovered or suspected of holding Correspondence with *France*, of betraying our Counsels to *France*, **not one Dissenter** was found : In Parliament none more forward in giving Mony, and in giving it betimes, **than the Dissenters** : And in one word, none more hearty in their Country's Cause, **than the Dissenters**.

I know the Dissenters were all along this Reign painted in the same black Colours as in the two preceding ones : But it was *only* by those who had a hand in the Conspiracies in this Reign, or wisht well to them ; who held Correspondence with *France*, or betray'd our Counsels to *France*, or were glad thereof ; who were for giving Mony but so late that it would be useless to the King, or approv'd thereof : And in one word, the Dissenters

ters were represented in such hellish Shapes, *only* by those, who in Appearance were for the the *Church* and *State*, but by their whole Behaviour declar'd they were for Restoring King JAMES.

I am now come to the Reign of her present Majesty, wherein we shall find that *only* the Friends of *France* and the *Pretender* hate the Dissenters.

Whilst the *Ministry* lookt on the War as **Just** and **Necessary**; that No Peace could be **Safe** and **Honourable** whilst *Spain* and the *West-Indies* remain'd in the House of *Bourbon*; that no Peace with *France* would last longer than the first Opportunity of their dividing the Allies, and of attacking some of them with **Advantage**; I say, whilst the Ministry had such **NOBLE** Thoughts as these, they did not think the Dissenters were *Enemies*, but *Dutiful and Loyal Subjects*; none being more hearty in the War; none more forward in giving early Taxes, to enable her Majesty to make a **Safe, Advantagious, and Glorious Peace** for Herself and all her Allies; a *Peace* that should have wrested *Spain* and the *West-Indies* out of the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*; And none being more chearful in bearing these Taxes than the **Dissenters**. Twas They *only* that represented them to us as *Enemies to the Church, of factious and seditious Principles, dangerous to Government and to Monarchy, and Enemies to Cesar,*

Cesar, who lookt on the War as begun (a) contrary to Reason ; (b) that we were not bound to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the House of Bourbon ; but that since we were engag'd in the War, if France could be brought to offer, *That the Duke of Anjou should for himself and his Descendants, renounce for ever all Claim to the Crown of France* ; and that such an Important Article might be expos'd to no Hazard, the Performance to accompany the Promise ; And the Succession to the Crown of France to be declar'd, after the Death of the Dauphin and his Sons, to be in the Duke of Berry and his Sons, in the Duke of Orleans and his Sons, and so on to the rest of the House of Bourbon ; That the *BONA FIDE* of the French King, tho' all Europe had been so frequently trickt by it, would be a sufficient Ground to trust him : I say, if it was they only that had such Notions as these, that lookt on the Dissenters not as Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, but as *Enemies*, because none more against the War ; none more forward in giving Taxes so late, to disable her Majesty to make a **ruinous, disadvantageous and inglorious peace** for France ; a Peace that should have wreted Spain and the West-Indies out of the Hands of the House of Bourbon ; And none less chearful in bearing these Taxes **than themselves.**

Now since the present Ministry is compos'd of those that hated the Dissenters for the Reasons

(a) *Conduct of the Allies*, p. 57.

(b) p. 66. &c.

just mention'd ; the Dissenters are lookt upon by the *present Ministry* not as *Dutiful and Loyal Subjects*, but as *Enemies* ; Because the carrying on the War is now call'd by *them*, *delighting in War*, the *War itself unjust and unnecessary* ; and as it was begun *contrary to Reason*, so it hath been carry'd on (*a*) in the wrong Place.

So that I must conclude, That the Change is not in the Behaviour of the Dissenters, nor in the Opinion of the *present Ministry* towards them ; but only in their Condition, being rais'd from Private Men to Prime Ministers of State.

Besides, the Treatment the Dissenters meet with from the *present Ministry*, and their Adherents and Abettors, is most Unreasonable, most Unjust, and most Unchristian ; for they are represented as teaching *fanatical, seditious, and blasphemous Doctrines* ; as *Fomenters* of our Divisions ; and of a *seditionis* Behaviour : When, if we come to take in pieces such a general Charge against that unhappy People, we shall find the Zealots of the Church of *England* Clergy guilty of the **LIKE DOCTRINE** with which they charge the Dissenters ; only with this Difference, that those Doctrines laid to the charge of the Dissenters, are the Opinions **ON**LY** of some few of them, not above **ONE** in **FIVE HUNDRED**, and those Opinions and Teachers **CONDEMN'D** by the **REST** of the Dissenters ; whereas those **DOCTRINES** of the like Nature preach'd**

(*a*) *Conduit of the Allies*, p. 58.

by the Zealots of the Church of *England* Clergy, are the Characteristick of a **Good Churchman**; nay some of them are the DECREE of one of our Universities: And as for the Dissenters being Fomenters of our Divisions; and of a seditious Behaviour; upon Examination we shall find that the Zealots of the Members and Clergy of the Church of *England* are THEMSELVES guilty of those **VERY CRIMES** that they UNJUSTLY load the Dissenters with; UUJUSTLY, I say, because the Dissenters are *not* guilty thereof, but those Zealots of the Members and Clergy of the Church of *England* themselves.

I shall confront them in the manner I have hitherto pursu'd.

i. The Dissenters are charged with teaching, that *Dominion is founded in Grace*.

Not above *one*, if so many, hath asserted that since 1660.

2. The Dissenters are charged with teaching *sedicious Doctrines*.

Not one Instance can be produc'd.

i. The Zealots of the Clergy of the Church of *England* teach, that *God bath appointed a particular form of Government, which it would be Damnation to change*.

2. How meek and peaceable soever the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience may at first sight appear to be; yet it hath a terrible Sting in the Tail of it: For if Passive - Obedience and Non-

Non-Resistance be the indispensable Duty of every Subject, even in case of Necessity ; then it was our Duty at the late Revolution ; but we not having practis'd *that* Duty at *that* Time, have committed a very great Sin ; have done the highest Injustice to the once King *James* and his pretended Son ; by making the Father die beyond Sea, and by keeping the Son so long from his Right : And as there can be no true Repentance without Restitution, where it is in our power ; therefore to repent sincerely of that Sin, we ought to bring back the Son : What Confusion would not this bring with it ? Besides, the Convocation of Oxford, in their Decree July 21. 1683. do amongst other things, decree, **to the Honour of the Holy and Undivided**

divided Trinity, that the Proposition, that the Sovereignty of England is in the Three Estates, viz. King, Lords, and Commons. And that the King has but a Co-ordinate Power, and may be over-rul'd by the other two, is an Impious Proposition ; this at once destroys the Share of the Lords and Commons in the Legislature : and the Doctrine of Absolute Arbitrary Power in the Prince, destroys, undermines and tares up at once our whole Constitution ; annuls all our Rights, Liberties and Properties. What more Seditious Doctrines than these ? What more Seditious Doctrine than that of the Independency of the Church on the State, taught by the Zealots of the Clergy ?

3. The Dissenters are charged wth teaching blasphemous Doctrines.

This, I believe, cannot be prov'd, except in one Instance, and (a) that Teacher was censur'd and punish'd by the rest of the Dissenters.

3. There is scarce a Sermon preach'd on the 30th of January by the Zealots of the Church of England Clergy, without some blasphemous Expressions in it ; some diminution of our Saviour's Sufferings to raise those of King Charles I. particularly Dr. Binks, (if I mistake not his Name) asserted to this effect in one of his Sermons on that Day, that *the Sufferings of King Charles I. were greater than those of our Saviour; because he (our Saviour) was but a titular King; but K. Char. I. a real King.* Mr. Dodwel hath affirmed, that the Soul being a Principle naturally mortal, can be made immortal by none but Bishops. Let any one but read a Pamphlet call'd *A New*

(a) But it was moved about two years ago in the Lower House of Convocation, to censure a Sermon justifying the Popish Doctrine of Anticlerical Confession; but it pass'd in the Negative.

Catechism, with Doctor Hickes's 39 Articles; and he will be astonish'd at the **impious, schismatical, heretical, and blasphemous** Tenets of most of the Zealots of the Church of *England* Clergy: And if teaching one thing and acting another, be the direct way to have God's Name blasphem'd, I am sure the High-Church Clergy have taken that way; for the truth of which I refer the Reader to the *2d Part of the Nation vindicated, &c.* P. 40, 41, 42. wherein he will find XVI Instances there produced.

4. The Dissenters are charged with *fomenting our Divisions.*

This I flatly deny; and I challenge the whole Nation to pro-

4. Do not the Zealots of the Church of *England* Clergy foment our Divisions by their Sermons? by (a) their distinguishing themselves

(a) I know they give this Reason why they wear a different sort of Gown, *that it is the Gown they ought to wear, as being Master of Arts;* however that may be, 'tis notorious the change of Habit was revived as a Mark of Distinction, and not by way of Decency and Order.

duce

duce ONE SINGLE Instance to prove this Assertion.

by their Gowns ? 'Tis notorious, that when a hot-headed Clergyman comes into a Parish where there is *no* Meeting, in a short time there is one set up ; whereas, when a moderate Churchman comes to be Minister of a Parish in which there is a Dissenting Meeting *already* set up ; in a very short time such Minister, by his *Christian* Behaviour and Carriage towards the Dissenters, wins them over to the Church, and makes the Meeting-House stand empty. Therefore by this it is plain that the hot-headed Clergy are the cause of the continuance of our Divisions, and not the Dissenters. And doth not the Bills against the Dissenters keep up our Divisions ; since 'tis most undeni-
able that their Numbers daily *decrease* when there are no such Laws

against them ; but daily increase, when there are such Laws against them ?

5. The Dissenters are charged *with being a seditious People.*

This I positively deny ; and I do defy the whole Nation to produce one Fact to make good this Charge.

5. Who was it that rais'd all those Tumults in *London* at *Sacheverel's Tryal* ; and afterwards up and down the Nation ?

'Twas the Zealots of the Members and Clergy of the Church of *England*.

Who are those that raise all those Tumults, and cause all those Disturbances at Elections ?

The Zealots of the Members of the Church of *England*.

Do not the Zealots of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, on such Occasions, act more like *Leaders of Mobs*, than *Clergy-men* ?

What Body of Men was it that, tho they maintain'd that the Government of the Church is by Divine Appointment, in Bishops ; yet claim'd

claim'd an equal Share with them in the Supreme or Legislative Power of the Church ?

'Twas the Lower Houses of Convocation.

Who was it that, when the Queen's Letter to the Archbishop, which she desir'd might be communicated to the Bishops and Clergy of his Province, was reading to both Houses of Convocation, would scarce give that due Attention to it, which so great an Authority exacted from them ?

'Twas Dr. *Binks*, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, with several Members thereof.

What Body of Men was it, that would scarce stay to hear the Prorogation of the Convocation by the Queen's Orders ? 'Twas Dr. *Binks*, and the Lower House of Convocation.

What Body of Men was it, that refus'd to be prorogu'd, but continu'd sitting, after they had been prorogu'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury ?

'Twas the Lower House of Convocation, with Dr. Binks at their Head.

So that upon the whole I shall say to the present Ministry, their Adherents and Abettors, *He that is among them without those Crimes they lay to the charge of the Dissenters, let him first bring in a severe Law against them.*

From all this, it undeniably appears, that the Dissenters have not been, and are not such Monsters, as they have been and are MOST UNJUSTLY represented ; and that the Change is not in *them*, but in the *present Ministry*.

The Dissenters very well know, that the Whigs did not come into the Conformity-Bill out of any Hatred to them, but for such weighty Reasons, as would have cost a CERTAIN LORD his Head, if the creation of XII PEERS had not prevented

prevented it. The Dissenters very well know, that the Whigs were and are their Friends, as much as ever, because they (the Dissenters) were and are as much as ever in the Interest of their Country and the Protestant Religion : And therefore for these Reasons it can be no *Aggravation of their Conduct*, to join with the Whigs : And since no *Aggravation of their Conduct*; 'Tis a **most scandalously False** Inference drawn from their joining with the Whigs, to say, That they (the Dissenters) testify, (a) "That " they were more zealous for carrying on a Fac- " tion in the Civil Government, than for enjoy- " ing or preserving their Religious Liberties, " which they had appear'd so much concern'd " about in former Times."

I hope the Reader will excuse this long Di- gression in Vindication of the Dissenters ; since hereby he may see how **falsly** in all Reigns they have been represented by **FOOLISH, KNAVISH,** and **VILLANOUS** Statesmen.

Having shown how our Fury against the *Dif- fenders* in King *Charles II's* Reign brought the *Church* and *State* into Danger : I now am come to lay open the **Helpless** and **Deplorable** Condition this poor Nation is brought into by our Fury against the Dissenters and *Late Mi- nistry.*

(a) Letter to the Dissenters, p. 9, 10.

This Helpless and Deploable Condition flows from these Two Causes.

* I. The Undermining the Constitution of our Parliaments.

II. Our Danger from France and the Pretender.

I. The Undermining the Constitution of our Parliaments.

1. As to the House of Lords.

2. As to the House of Commons.

1. As to the House of Lords.

By introducing XII Lords at once.

This is the boldest and most barefac'd Stroak that was ever given at the Root and Being of our Parliament : Standing Armies, Illegal Taxes, Quartering Soldiers, Tryals by Martial Law, &c. are not Half so Dangerous to our Parliaments : For, These alarin the Nation, and bid them stand upon their Guard, and repel Force by Force ; But this is more Fatal ; because less sensible to every body ; so less minded ; and therefore may ruin us before we are aware.

If a Ministry, upon any Debate that may arise in the House of Lords, shall be permitted to in-

The Letter to the Dissenters, p. 42. I know, mentions it as an Aggravation of the Folly of the Dissenters, in joining with the Country Party against the Present Ministry, that they have not "the least Challenge against the said Administration ; nor one "Law broken ; not one Privilege invaded ; not one Act of Ar- "bitrary Power exerted ; no Oppression ; no Injustice ; no "Tyranny to complain of." Notwithstanding all this fine Cant, I am fully satisfy'd I can and shall make out so much as will convince the Nation, that the Present Ministry have actually done more towards enslaving us, than ever any Ministry did since England was England.

troduce as many Peers as they shall think fit, they may by this means not only carry every Question they shall have a mind to, tho' most apparently tending to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery*; but likewise may in a very short time make the whole House of Lords, **in the greatest Propriety of Speech, THE PRINCE'S HOUSE OF LORDS,** whereby *One Part* of the Legislature is consolidated not in *Show*, but in *Reality*, into the Crown.

The Truth of this hath already appear'd, by the Lords adjourning themselves twice upon the Queen's Request, which was since the introducing of the XII Peers: No such thing having ever been done before that Creation, that I know of.

2. As to the House of Commons.

First; By our blind Zeal we have been the Tools of the *present Ministry* to encourage the Horrid, *Arbitrary*, and *Illegal* Returns of the Officers at these two last Elections; and of the barefac'd Bribery and perjur'd Votes at those Elections: By these two Villanies we have procur'd the *present Ministry* such a House of Commons as they lik'd: And by having thus been their Instruments to corrupt and debauch the whole Nation, we have put it out of our power to hinder the Court from getting a Majority in that House, whenever they shall have a mind to it.

Secondly; By our blind Zeal we have been the Tools of the *present Ministry* to bring an infinite Number of Informations, in the Nature of *Quo Warranto's*, against the Members of most Cities

Cities and Burroughs in *England*; which is still a more effectual way to make the House of Commons only **The QUEEN'S PRIVY-COUNCIL** than the other way: For, as King *Charles II.* by new modelling the Corporations, endeavour'd to get a House of Commons entirely depending on his *Will and Pleasure*; thereby to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery* by a Law, *be having ALREADY a House of Lords to his Mind*: For, as $\frac{1}{2}$ of the House of Commons consists of *Citizens* of Cities and *Burgeesses* of Burroughs, if he could get the Charters of all or most of the Cities or Burroughs surrendered; he could new model as he pleas'd those Cities or Burroughs which should so surrender up their Charters, so as to have what Members return'd as he should nominate: So the vast Number of Informations, &c. we have been the **TOOLS** of the *present Ministry* to bring against such Persons as they dislike, can have no other End than the new modelling the Cities and Burroughs of *England*, so as to return up to Parliament the **TOOLS** of the *present Ministry*: And when the Cities and Burroughs are so modell'd; it will then be out of the power of the **NATION** to save **IT-SELF** from **RUIN**.

Consider well, whether by having thus made ourselves the **TOOLS** of the *present Ministry* in these Proceedings, we have not corrupted the very Spring from which the House of Commons flows: Consider well, whether we have not, by such Corrupting, made the *Present and All SUCCEEDING*

CEEDING House of Commons the Tools of the Present and ALL SUCCEEDING Ministries : Consider well, whether by thus having made our House of Commons TOOLS, we have not put our selves into the Power of our Princes : Consider well, whether by having thus put our selves into such a **Precarious** State, OUR LIBERTIES can long subsist ?

If our Parliaments are thus undermin'd, considering the State of each House *by it self*; how are they not undermin'd, considering the State of both Houses together ?

II. Our Danger from *France* and the *Pretender*.

1. If the VIOLATION of the most solemn Treaties renders a Nation **Perfidious** ; and therefore not to be pity'd ; not to be trusted : We are not to be pity'd, not to be trusted ; *for we have VIOLATED all our most solemn Treaties.*

2. If the *Partition-Treaty* were a sufficient Ground to impeach the late King's Ministers for ; because by adding to *France* any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, they render'd *France* more terrible and dangerous to ALL EUROPE, and US in particular : How much more terrible and dangerous must not *France* be to ALL EUROPE, and US in *particular*, by having the whole *Spanish* Monarchy added to it ? ----What do those then deserve who have done THIS ?

3. If *France* should dethrone the Emperor, and place in stead the Elector of *Bavaria*, and he is in a fair way to do it, if the Peace now treating between them prevent it not : Then how much more ghastly

full

still must not *France* appear to us ? But suppose the Peace prevent it, (and God grant it may) yet what a forlorn Condition are we not in ; when being neither pity'd, nor to be trusted, we are left to struggle with that Prince who alone is and was ABLE to make a stand against ALL EUROPE.

But add to this, our Danger from the *present Ministry*.

If they, contrary to their repeated Declarations at their first coming into Play, have got the Duke of *Marlborough* turn'd out ; have broke all our Alliances ; have given *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Bourbon* ; If the *present Ministry* have revil'd the Guaranty of the *Hanover* Succession ; have encourag'd Books in favour of the Pretender ; and in one Word, have done all that in them lay, whether they design'd it or not, it matters not, to pave the Way for that VARLET's Restoration (which God forbid) ; If they have done all this, what have we not to dread, what have we not to fear from them ? ----- **Cursed Traitors !**

Join all these together, our Danger from abroad, and our Danger at home ; and let any one tell me, whether this Nation was ever in a more desperate Condition. What ; in Danger from an Irresistible Enemy abroad ; not pity'd ; not trusted by any : Our Ministry ----- What Hope have we ? If *France* attacks us ; will *our Ministry* make new Alliances ? If *they* would ; will any one trust us ? If any would ; will *they* not be

be violated again ? If they would not be violated ; will it not be *then too late* to make them ?

A single Deliverance hath hitherto been sufficient to save us ; but a double Deliverance is but sufficient Now : For, if we are sav'd from the Jaws of *France* ; yet by having the very Constitution of our Parliaments sapp'd and undermin'd, we still remain at the Mercy of our own PRINCES.

And are we then reduc'd to this lamentable, to this *desperate Condition* ? Curse on those *Villains* that have undone us thus ! O *Brutus ! Brutus ! Brutus !*

I have now gone over the Three Propositions laid down at first.

By way of Conclusion ; I shall beg leave to address myself,

1. To the *Dissenters* in particular.
2. To the *Church* in particular.
3. To both together.

1. To the *Dissenters*.

My Brethren ; In the Letter to you, P. 9, you are told, that the Whigs sacrific'd you by the Bill against *Occasional Conformity* ; and therefore *an Aggravation* of your Conduct in joining with them : But as I have fully vindicated you from *that Most SCANDALOUSLY FALSE Accusation* ; so I must desire you to consider these three things following.

First ; If your were sacrific'd by the *Whigs* ; Consider whether you will not sacrifice *YOUR SELVES* by joining with the *present Ministry* ; who

who have all along been, and now are, your sworn Enemies ; and who, if they had had any Real Kindness for you, might have prevented that Bill's Passing.

Secondly ; If King James II. who hated you, as much, *not more*, than the *present Ministry* doth, courted the Dissenters when he found that the Church began to fall off from him upon discovering his Designs against the *Protestant Religion* and the *Liberties* of the People, only that they (*the Dissenters*) might give the *Finishing Stroak* to our Ruin *Then* : What can be the Reason that the *present Ministry* endeavour by Sophistry, Flattery, Reproaches, and Threats, to bring you over to them ; but that they find the Church begins to fall off from them upon discovering their Designs ; and therefore want you to give the *Finishing Stroak* to our Ruin *Now* ?

Thirdly ; If so ; then let each of you lay his Hand upon his Heart, and in the Presence of Almighty God, the *Searcher of Hearts*, ask his Conscience, *Whether*, by joining with the *present Ministry*, *he will not sacrifice his Country*.

2. To the *Church*.

My Fellow Protestants and Countrymen ; I have laid open to your View the monstrous Birth of a blind misguided Zeal.

Could you, this time four Years, have imagin'd, that any Ministers would have thus abus'd your Zeal for the *Church*, and *against Mismanagements* ? Could you, this time four Years, have conceiv'd, that such FOOLISH, KNAVISH, and

VILLANOUS Acts would have been done ; and being done, that you would have justify'd them ? Could you, this time four Years, have been perwaded, that you should have been fool'd into so absurd a Belief ? Could you, this time four Years, have believ'd, if told you, that the *present Ministry* would commit the VERY SAME CRIMES that the *late Ministry* were pretendedly guilty of, and at the VERY SAME TIME that the Parliament, &c. was unjustly censuring them for them ; and Crimes that the *late Ministry* were never pretendedly guilty of, nor charg'd with ? Could you, this time four Years, have born to have been told, that you would over-look such Crimes ? No : you could not have imagin'd all this ; you could not have born to have been told this : Then let the Actions of the *present Ministry* be a living Warning to you and your latest Posterity, *never more* to be deceiv'd by the Cry of the Church, and of Great Mismanagements.

You cannot but know, that it was the animating the Church against the Dissenters that brought us to the Verge of our Fate in King Charles's and King James's Reigns ; and that it was the *uniting of the Church with the Dissenters*, that fav'd both the *Church* and *State* in those Reigns. Now since we have *still* amongst us the same wicked, restless and cunning Enemies of our *Church* and *State*, who will *still* be setting the Church against the Dissenters : Let us therefore always *unite* as firmly with the Dissenters to prevent the very

first Steps of the Designs of these wicked Enemies, as we united with them to save us from the Ruin that was just ready to break in upon us ; but which impending Ruin might, and would have been prevented, had the Church but united with Dissenters at first.

Let us unite with the Dissenters ; let us love them ; let us cast out all jealousy of them ; because our *Fellow Protestants* ; because our *Countrymen*, and equally Zealous for the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Liberties of England* : Because by uniting with them, we shall break in pieces the grand Engine by which our Ruin is always contriv'd : Because by having no jealousy of them, we shall keep a jealous, watchful Eye over the **sworn** Enemies of our Holy Religion ; and so discover the END to which all their TURNINGS and WINDINGS do tend ; which we cannot do, if we suffer ourselves to be *fool'd* by our Enemies ; for when the *Church* is animated against the *Dissenters* ; the Church will turn her Eyes from off the **PAPISTS** to the **DISSENTERS** ; and they from off the **PAPISTS** to the **CHURCH** ; whereby the **PAPISTS**, being unobserv'd, will therefore so much the more effectually contrive and accomplish our Ruin.

3. To Both.

Britons and Freemen ; Since that cursed Maxim of **DIVIDE AND RULE** hath not only so often disquieted this Nation, and driven it, as well as all *Europe*, at present, to the **very Brink of Final Destruction** : Let us henceforward *resolve*

resolve no more to be fool'd as we have been :
 Let us *resolve* to look on HIM as the ENEMY
 OF OUR COUNTRY that shall, **under any**
Pretence whatsoever, foment Jealousies or
 Distrusts between the *Church* and *Dissenters* :
 Let us *resolve* no more to be fool'd by the Cry
 of the Danger of the *Church* from the *Dissenters* ;
 nor of the Danger of Liberty of Conscience from
 the *Church* : Let us *resolve* to stop our Ears to any
 such Sounds : Let us *resolve* mutually to forget
 past Injuries ; and forgetting, to forgive : Let us
resolve by forgetting and forgiving past Injuries,
 to out-do each other in advancing the Peace,
 Quiet, and Unity of our Country ; and mutual
 Love, Friendship and Confidence : Let us, thus
 united, thus *mutually Loving*, be jealous *only* of
 the **Papists, Jacobites, and Nonjurors** :
 Let us *strive* to revive true Honour, Generosity,
 Hospitality, Probity, Integrity, and Gratitude :
 Let us be *ambitious* to out-strip each other in
 being Proof against **Bribery** and **Corruption** ;
 in dreading the committing of any **Base, Foc-**
lish, Knavish, and Villanous Acts : Let us be
 zealous to advance all *Christian* and Moral Vir-
 tues to the highest Perfection : Let us be daily
 endeavouring to settle in us the **Temper, Dis-**
position, and Greatness of Mind, inherent
 to ALL TRUE PATRIOTS : Let us *seek*
 to raise our Parliaments to their ancient Dignity,
 by our worthy Behaviour therein : Let us *set*
 our Wits to work, how to improve our Shipping,
 our Trade, our Manufactures : Let us *raise* our

Ambition to such a Noble Pitch as to make us study how to ride **Absolute Lords of the WHOLE WATRY WORLD**, and to hold the **Ballance of the WHOLE EARTHY WORLD**. Then shall we raise our Prince to such a God-like Height of Power, as to make him, the **HEAD** of the *Protestant* Interest in *Europe*, the **PROTECTOR** and **DEFENDER** of the *Helpless*, the **AVENGER** of the *Oppressed*, the **GUARDIAN ANGEL** of **Liberty**, and the **SCOURGE** of **Tyrants**.

These, these are Thoughts fit for *Britons*, fit for *Protestants*, fit for *Patriots*.

Till we have such Thoughts as these, the Virtues of our Ancestors will rise up in Judgment against us, and condemn us : Till then ; the Blessings of the *Protestant Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property*, will only serve to *aggravate our Conduct* : Till then ; we shall be and remain what we **N D W** are, a *Degenerate*, therefore a **Foolish**, **Knavish**, and **Villanous**, therefore a *Divided*, therefore a *Weak*, therefore a *Despicable People* ; and therefore, as we have been frequently fool'd by the *Cry of the Church*, in order to ruin us ; so we shall be fool'd *again and again* by the same Cry, till we are ruin'd at last.

My Countrymen ; I shall trouble you no longer ; but will leave you to your own Thoughts. Now since the *English* have the Character of being the only Nation in the World that can think aright ; if you will but think ; I am perswade

you yet will see the Things that belong to your Peace before they be hid from your Eyes : And that you may ; is the hearty Wish, and sincere Prayer of,

My Dear Countrymen,

Your Faithful Friend,

London, March 10.

1713-14.

and Humble Servant,

Gato Brutus.

POST SCRIP.

SInce the writing of this Letter several Matters of Fact, which can have no other Tendency than the bringing in of the *Pretender*, have happen'd, fit to be laid before the whole Nation.

1. Officers, entirely in the Interest of the House of *Hanover*, are daily order'd to sell, or are turn'd out ; without any Crime laid to their Charge ; and others, either professed Jacobites, or Occasional Jurors, are put in their Room.

Query, Did not King *James* do something like this, when he was attempting to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery* ?

2. The *present Ministry* delay'd granting the *Hanover Envoy* a Writ of Summons for the Duke of *Cambridge* for near NINE DAYS.

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3. The Hanover Envoy hath been forbid the Court; but Sir Patrick Lawless, as before is said, an Outlaw, the Pretender's Envoy to the Court of Spain, hath been received by the Ministry, hath been frequently at Court; Nay, hath been introduc'd to her Majesty by my Lord Dartmouth.

4. Mr. Bedford, Author of the Book call'd *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted*, on Tuesday, May 4th, was sentenc'd to suffer three Years Imprisonment; to pay 1000 Marks; to find Sureties of 5000*l.* for his good Behaviour after the three Years expired; and to walk to all the Courts in Westminster-Hall on Friday following, with a Paper on his Forehead denoting his Crimes; but this last part of his Sentence was remitted.

5. Great Numbers of Jacobites are already gone, and are still going down to (a) Scotland.

6. When the Bill was brought in to the House of Commons (b) to prevent the Growth of Schism, it was moved, to add these Words, and to prevent the Growth of Popery: But Mr. Secretary Bromley said, THAT THAT WAS CLOGGING THE BILL.

7. (c) Men continue to be listed in Ireland for the Pretender; and Ships full of them arrive (d) at the Ports of France.

(a) This was the Place where the Pretender attempted to land some Years ago.

(b) I should be glad to be inform'd how this Bill and that for the building so new Churches can agree.

(c) Flying Post, June 1. (d) Daily Courant, May 29.

Some

Some things concerning the *Sincerity* and *Honour* of the Ministry are fit to be known, that we may no longer be deceived by their *Word* or *Honour*.

1. When the Affair of the *Catalans* was in agitation in the House of Lords, several Letters were read upon that Subject, amongst others one of my Lord *Bolingbrook's* to Count *Zinzendorf*, who had writ a pressing Letter in favour of that brave People; in which Letter of my Lord's, there was a Passage to this effect, *that it was impertinent to insist upon the Catalans having their Privileges preserv'd to them*; after all the Letters were read, my Lord *Hallifax* took notice of this Passage; but my Lord *Bolingbrook* *possitively denied* there was any such Passage; whereupon the Letters were read again; and that Passage, almost Word for Word as my Lord *Hallifax* had mention'd it, was read.

2. My Lord *Bolingbrook*, when in the House of Commons, insisted we had carry'd on the War wrong, by acting in *Flanders*; that we ought to have made our chief Efforts in *Spain*: But not long since, he asserted in the House of Lords, that we had carry'd on the War wrong, by acting in *Spain*.

3. Mr. *Bromley*, Secretary of State, hath frequently asserted in the House of Commons things as Matters of Fact, which have been *immediately disproved*.

I will trouble the Reader with one or two Instances more of the Violation of our Treaty of Commerce by *France*.

In the *Daily Courant*, May 29. 1714. we have an Account of one of our Ships being detained at *Porto-Rico*; and of a large *Bermudas Sloop* taken by the *French*; and the Treatment that the Owner of the Ship detained at *Porto-Rico* and his Company meet with is, that the Governor will not let any *English* come to them, nor they go to them.

I have but a few things more to say; and then I shall make an end.

The *present Ministry*, when they first came into Play, assured the Nation; 1. That they would not turn out the Duke of *Marlborough*; 2. That they would not give up *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*; 3. That they would not break our Alliances; 4. That they were for the *Hanover Succession*.

They have broken their Word in the three first; will they keep it in the last?

Their railing at the Duke of *Marlborough*:

Their endeavouring to render him *odious* to the Nation from his great Wealth:

Their railing at the Elector of *Hanover*, upon his Minister, *Baron de Bothmar's* delivering his Momorial 2 Years ago:

Their endeavouring to render him *odious* to the Nation from his great Wealth:

Thei

Their frightening the Nation with the Apprehension of his making himself *Protector* :

All this ended in turning him out ; notwithstanding they had given their word to the contrary.

Their not sending Troops in 1710. into *Spain* after our Defeat there, after the Address of the House of Commons so to do :

Their terming the insisting on the Address to her Majesty not to yield to a Peace without the Entire Restitution of Spain, a pinning down of the war upon us :

Their agreeing to the Preliminaries brought over by *Mesnager*, in which no mention was made of the Restitution of *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the Emperor :

Their frightening the Nation with the Apprehension of his making himself *Absolute* when he comes to the Crown :

All this will end, in setting his Succession aside ; notwithstanding they have given their word to the contrary.

Their not enquiring after the Authors and Publishers of the Pamphlets in favour of the *Pretender* :

Their advising the Nation, by the *Examiner*, not to mention the *House of Hanover* in their Addresses :

Their receiving Sir *Patrick Lawless*, an Outlaw, and the *Pretender's* Envoy at the Court of *Spain*, at the same time that my Lord *Lexington* came thither :

Their

Their publishing Pamphlets to prove we were not bound to recover Spain and the *West Indies* from the House of Bourbon :

Their opposing the Clause in the Lords Address, that no Peace could be safe or honourable to Great-Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies were to be allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon :

All this ended in giving up Spain and the West-Indies ; in direct Contradiction to her Majesty's Alliances, her Declaration of War, her Speeches from the Throne, her Answer to Addresses ; and to the Sense of all our

Their publishing Pamphlets to prove the Legitimacy of the Pretender, and his Right to the Crown :

Their opposing in the House of Commons Mr. Hambden's Motion, for an Address, That her Majesty would be pleas'd to give particular Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, that in the Conclusion of the Treaty, the several Powers in Alliance with her Majesty, might be Guaranties for the Protestant Succession to the Crown of these Realms, as settled by Act of Parliament in the Illustrious House of Hanover :

All this will end, in bringing in the Pretender, in direct Violation of the most solemn and repeated Declaration, Oaths, and the strongest Laws.

Parliaments

Parliaments since the beginning of the War.

Their exclaiming against all our Victories, as fighting for Hedges ; our taking Towns, as knocking our Soldiers Brains out against Stone Walls :

Their publishing Pamphlets to prove that we ought to make a Peace ; that we were unable to carry on the War :

Their sending *Prior* privately into *France* ; whereupon the *French* had sanguin Hopes of a Peace :

Their kind receiving of *Mesnager* the *French* Minister at Court ; and

Their exclaiming against the *Revolution*, as a *Rebellion* ; against King *William*, as an *Usurper* :

Their publishing the Depositions concerning the Birth of the Pretender :

Their sending my Lord *Bolingbrook* over into *France* ; where he had an Interview with the Pretender at the Play ; and afterwards the Pretender sent a solemn Protestation under his Great Seal to all the Publick Ministers at *Utrecht*, stiling himself *James III.* By the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith :

Their kind receiving at Court Sir *Patrick Lawless*, an Outlaw, their

forbidding the Envoy, their Minister, Counsellor, the Duke, the Prince : —

Their publishing Pamphlets to prove we had lost oureditary our Al-

To prov that we had begun the War wrong : —

To prove that we had carry'd it on in a wrong Place : —

All this ended, in making a Separate Peace with France ; in direct Contradiction to her Majesty's Alliances, her Speech, her Messages to the Parliament, and her Answer to Addresses.

Pretender, &c.

Court of Law, their forbidding never Envoy, the

Their publishing Pamphlets to prove the hereditary Right to Crown,

To prove that we had

hereditary Right and

Natural Allegiance due

to it, is a stubborn

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bend even to an A

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a Thousand Usurpa

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Gospel preachers

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